ELECTION '08 • THE EDITORS

THE Nation

SOUTH CAROLINA

INSIDE THE 'BLACK PRIMARY'

BOB MOSER

JANUARY 7/14, 2008
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Letters

What If They Gave a War & Nobody Paid?

Green Valley Lake, Calif.
One of the most patriotically American things any citizen can do is refuse to pay taxes. Don't we remember? They threw the tea overboard, refused to pay taxes, and with that moment of citizen energy we started coming together as a nation. Thanks, Chris Hedges! Count me in! ["Hands Off Iran," Dec. 10] Hedges leads us, saying he'll do the tea-party thing if Bush attacks Iran: he will not pay his income tax! I'm with him—it's wake-up time!
Franklin Ellis

St. Louis
A yearlong survey of 1,500 war opponents indicates that more than two-thirds of them are ready to join Chris Hedges. Those surveyed want to commit this one-time act of nonviolent civil disobedience with large numbers of other citizens in a highly public manner and to redirect their taxes to communities that need them. Like Hedges, they prefer to refuse to pay their taxes in response to a specific war.

The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee conducted this survey and has launched a campaign based on the responses. "Withdraw from War—Pay for Peace: A 2008 War Tax Boycott" provides an online registry of those who will refuse on April 15 to pay for the war in Iraq (and Iran). A health clinic in New Orleans and an Iraqi refugee program in Jordan will receive the resisted taxes.

Voices for Creative Nonviolence, War Resisters League, Veterans for Peace, and the Nonviolent Direct Action Working Group of United for Peace and Justice are promoting this boycott (for information go to www.wartaxboycott.org).
Bill Ramsey

San Francisco
Chris Hedges has the right idea. Too many Americans who should know better are content merely to disapprove, tsk-tsk, wave signs or protest at rallies. It's way past time to put our money where our mouths are. I'm only surprised Hedges has drawn his line in the sand as far back as he has. For me, the government crossed that line with the Iraq invasion in 2003. I stopped paying federal income taxes then and have since reduced or eliminated my contributions to other federal taxes as well.

Now I'm putting all of my time and money on the side of my values instead of letting Congress spend it on Pentagon priorities and political pork. Why wait for the next atrocity? Join the War Tax Boycott today. There are many ways to resist taxes: legal ways and ways that require civil disobedience, safe ways and ways that take courage. There's a method that's right for you.
David Gross

Houston
When Chris Hedges writes, "A country that exists in a state of permanent war cannot exist as a democracy," he recalls Benito Mussolini, who said in 1933: "Fascism above all does not believe either in the possibility or utility of universal peace. It therefore rejects the pacification which masks surrender and cowardice" (read, cut and run). "War alone brings all human energies to their highest tension and sets a seal of nobility on the people who have the virtue to face it." War as virtue, Mars as savior. Hedges is eminently correct. One mark of a fascist state is perpetual war. And that is where this Administration is dragging us in the Middle East.
Arthur Preisinger

A Friend in the White House

Claremont, Calif.
Bill Moyers's comments [Dec. 10] about the "friendship" his father found in FDR brought tears to my eyes and the memory to mind that my own father felt the same. We grew up in Memphis in a working-class railroad neighborhood. My father was a locomotive engineer and voted for Hoover in 1932. He had finished the tenth grade in Fayette

(continued on page 24)

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The Nation.
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Election '08

It has been more than a year since the first group of Democratic hopefuls announced their candidacy for President of the United States. Seventeen debates or forums have been staged, and more than $150 million has been spent on advertising, polling and other campaign expenses. Pundits have pronounced their conventional wisdom, so easily reversed, on who is most "electable," "presidential" or "inevitable." Celebrities and surrogates have rung their appeals, and the deforming machinery of electoral money and math has whirled into place. And yet despite all this, something remarkable, almost magical in its resilience, will take place on January 3. Thousands of neighbors will gather in schools, churches and public libraries across Iowa to caucus. It's an imperfect, curious system—one that privileges the indirect democracy of delegates and the momentary passions of a state that is, demographically speaking, unrepresentative of America. Nonetheless, during the evening hours, when candidates and campaign staff are relegated to the sidelines, the circus of democracy will be suspended and something approaching actual democratic deliberation will unfold. But who should the voters of Iowa—and then New Hampshire, Nevada, South Carolina and the states that follow in this crowded primary season—select as the Democratic Party's standard-bearer?

EDITORIAL

This is not an easy question to address. To put this election in context, it is the first time since 1928 that a sitting President or Vice President has been absent from the field. The calamitous Administration of George W. Bush has slashed and burned its way through Iraq, our Constitution and the remnants of the social safety net. It has pursued imperial aggression, lethal incompetence and crony capitalism as if they constitute official policy, leaving the next President with a multitude of crises, from Iraq to New Orleans to Guantánamo Bay.

But to take a page from the free-market gospel: where there is crisis, there is opportunity. Indeed, throughout this uncommonly long election cycle, beyond-the-Beltway progressives have driven their issues to the forefront of the Democratic agenda. The leading candidates share positions that were considered political suicide as recently as 2004, and topics once shunted aside, like global warming, are of central importance. Withdrawal from Iraq, which John Kerry couldn't bring himself to call for, is embraced by all the current candidates, albeit on varying timetables. Unfettered free trade, a hallmark of the Clinton Administration, is now viewed by most Democrats as an untenable position. Healthcare for all, an idea that many thought would doom Hillary Clinton's candidacy, is a mainstream proposition. And it is not just these issues that have taken center stage but the core progressive values they represent: diplomacy over militarism, workers' rights, the responsibility of government to see that social needs are met. Meanwhile, the Republican campaign has seemingly taken place in an alternate reality, with GOP candidates competing to win the title of Most Likely to Nuke Iran and Most Xenophobic.

With Democrats running left and Republicans slouching right, we believe this election presents a historic opportunity to precipitate a progressive realignment. There is ferment in the air, a yearning for change and for a resuscitation of America's most inspired dreams of justice and equality. The kindling is in place, but the right spark has not yet been struck. There is a danger that many of this campaign's most contentious issues could find resolution in policies even more malign than the status quo. The question of immigration reform combined with the rhetoric of economic populism could lead to a jingoistic backlash against the most vulnerable

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COVER DESIGN BY GENE CASE & STEPHEN KLING/AVENGING ANGELS; ILLUSTRATIONS BY KAREN CALDICOTT AND DOUG CHAYKA

VOLUME 285, NUMBER 23, JANUARY 7/14, 2008
PRINTED DECEMBER 19, 2007

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INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Printed on 100% recycled 40% post-consumer acid- and chlorine-free paper, in the USA.

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NEWS & ANALYSIS

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NATION POLL

Most Valuable Progressive 2007

VIDEO NATION

Campaign in the City: America's Mayors on the Issues

RADIO NATION

Aziz Huq, Billy Sothern, Michael Ratner

workers in America. The war in Iraq could slide into a Democratic-led occupation with no end in sight; worse, it could spill over into Iran. And then there are the issues, already neglected, that could fade from view: a progressive tax policy that would eliminate breaks for corporations and the mega-rich; public investment in schools and urban infrastructure; an end to the "war on drugs" and a reorientation of our criminal justice system; a plan to address media consolidation; and a robust agenda for urban renewal.

What is needed most now is not a candidate but a movement to surround that candidate, to brace his or her resolve, to press for the best platform and to hold him or her accountable for implementing it if elected. For this reason, we choose not to endorse a candidate for President at this time but rather to call for the rise of a broadly based small-d democratic movement, as only such a movement can create the space necessary to realize this moment's full potential. Nonetheless, we see differences among the candidates that reflect their relative willingness and ability to foster this movement and advance its agenda.

In his stands on the issues, Dennis Kucinich comes closest to embodying the ideals of this magazine. He has been a forceful critic of the Bush Administration, opposing the Patriot Act and spearheading the motion to impeach Vice President Dick Cheney. He is the only candidate to have voted against the Iraq War in 2003 and has voted against funding it ever since. Of all the serious candidates, only he and Governor Bill Richardson propose a full and immediate withdrawal from Iraq. And only Kucinich's plan sets aside funds for reparations. Moreover, Kucinich has used his presidential campaigns to champion issues like cutting the military budget and abolishing nuclear weapons; universal, single-payer healthcare; campaign finance reform; same-sex marriage and an end to the death penalty and the war on drugs. A vote for him would be a principled one.

But for reasons that have to do with the corrupting influence of money and media on national elections as well as with his campaign's shortcomings—such as its failure to organize a grassroots base of donors and web activists—a democratic mass movement has not coalesced around Kucinich's run for President. The progressive vision is there, but the strategy necessary to win and then govern is lacking. In most cases, the rules of the Iowa caucus require that a candidate reach 15 percent of the vote to achieve "viability"; supporters of candidates who fail to do so can choose another candidate. Simply put, many Iowans will soon face a question that the rest of us may have to answer later: if not Dennis, then who?

The leading Democratic contenders—Hillary Clinton, John Edwards and Barack Obama—have been covered from various points of view in these pages. There are aspects of each candidate and campaign to be admired, and also those that cause concern. Hillary Clinton has proven herself a dedicated centrist, and when the center moves left, she has shown, she can move too. When it comes to trade and globalization, she has shifted from being an ardent supporter of NAFTA to calling for a "time-out" on all such deals (although she recently signaled her support for the Peru Free Trade Agreement). Clinton may not have apologized for her vote for the Iraq War, but she has called for its end. Her plan, however, would begin slowly and would involve retaining a "reduced residual force," perhaps as many as

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60,000 soldiers, to combat terrorism and train Iraqi military forces. As she indicated by voting for the Kyl-Lieberman amendment—which classified the Iranian Revolutionary Guards as a terrorist organization—her shift on Iraq did not reflect a fundamental political reorientation. Indeed, a Hillary Clinton administration could see a revival of her husband's advisers and their procorporate neoliberal policies. Certainly the presence of familiar and high-priced pollsters and lobbyists in the upper echelons of her campaign, as advisers and donors, is a worrisome sign. (Both Obama and Edwards have declined lobbyist donations.) The experience Clinton touts is likely to frustrate the change she promises. To be sure, her election would represent a historic breakthrough for women, and a Clinton presidency even modestly responsive to an ascendant left would be far better than a Clinton presidency triangulating in the wake of the Reagan revolution. But there's little reason to believe it would make ample space for a progressive agenda.

In contrast, Barack Obama and John Edwards are reaching for new ground. Each also presents the risks—and promises—of unknown potential.

On the campaign trail Edwards has displayed a smart, necessary partisanship—denouncing corporate power and its crippling influence on government. He has argued with conviction that government does best when it does more for its citizens. His campaign has met some roadblocks. He has not managed to consolidate the traditional Democratic base, and while he has loyal supporters among organized labor, he has not sewn up union support across the board, nor has he excited a cohort of previously disenfranchised voters. Perhaps some have been turned off by the media's relentless fixation on the "three H's"—haircuts, hedge funds and houses—symbols of the gap between his populist rhetoric and his lifestyle. Nonetheless, he has been at his best when taking on spiraling economic inequality. In a series of bold initiatives, he has called for an end to poverty in thirty years, universal healthcare, a hike in the minimum wage to $9.50 by 2012 and an 80 percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2050—accomplished in part by the creation of a green-collar jobs corps. His policy proposals are not always perfect, but they are uncommonly detailed and crafted in conjunction with progressive organizations. Most important, his programs were announced first, and they clearly pushed Clinton and Obama in a progressive direction. His healthcare plan stops short of a single-payer program, but it unapologetically includes employer mandates and tax increases. Likewise, although he voted for the Iraq War and his plan to end it doesn't commit to full and immediate withdrawal, he has repudiated that vote and proposes a faster pullout than his two main rivals. And Edwards is the only leading candidate to connect the war and the home front, bravely arguing that an ambitious domestic agenda would require cuts to the military budget. His is the campaign that has

Noted.

IGNORANCE IS BLISS: The Cuban missile crisis is widely known as the one time, as Kennedy White House aide **Theodore Sorenson** puts it, the world "stared down the gun barrel of nuclear war." But the most dangerous episode of the nuclear era seems to have escaped White House press secretary **Dana Perino**—despite its historical centrality to her boss's policies of intervention to halt the spread of (nonexistent) weapons of mass destruction. Recently, when a reporter asked Perino to comment on Russian President **Vladimir Putin**'s comparison of a US-European defense system to the Soviet installation of missiles in Cuba in 1962, she punted. Later she admitted, "I really don't know about…the Cuban missile crisis" and deduced this salient fact: "It had to do with Cuba and missiles, I'm pretty sure."

President Bush seemed more confident on the matter when, in October 2002, he invoked Kennedy's handling of the missile crisis as a precedent for a pre-emptive strike on Iraq. "I would flunk him in history," the late **Arthur Schlesinger Jr.** said of Bush at the time. Certainly, he would have flunked Perino as well. PETER KORNBLUH

THE PUFFIN/*NATION* PRIZE: "It is the job of thinking people not to be on the side of the executioners." So began **Michael Ratner**'s speech at The Nation Institute's annual dinner as he accepted the 2007 Puffin/*Nation* Prize for Creative Citizenship. For years, Ratner and the "splendid band of tigerish people" he leads at the **Center for Constitutional Rights** (CCR) have been heading the fight against the executioners, torturers and kidnappers who commit their crimes under the cover of state, badge and gown. As the Bush Administration prosecutes its "war on terror"—illegally detaining thousands of people at Guantánamo Bay and other locations, suspending long-cherished civil liberties, spying on its own citizens and rationalizing torture—Ratner and CCR have been at their best. With courage and dedication, CCR lawyers and staff have demanded due process for detainees, adequate safeguards against government surveillance and an end to torture and extraordinary rendition. Twice they won rights for Guantánamo detainees in cases before the Supreme Court, only to have those victories undermined by Congress. "Sometimes my colleagues and I feel like Sisyphus," Ratner confessed.

But Ratner and his band persist. On December 5 they were again in front of the Supreme Court, arguing *Al Odah v. US*—which directly challenged the constitutionality of the Military Commissions Act of 2006.

One of the world's foremost defenders of human rights and civil liberties, Ratner has taught at Yale and Columbia law schools and served as president of the National Lawyers Guild. Founded in 2001 by the Puffin Foundation and The Nation Institute to recognize an individual who has challenged the status quo through distinctive, courageous, imaginative and socially responsible work of significance, the Puffin/*Nation* Prize has previously gone to **Amy Goodman**, **Jonathan Kozol**, **Barbara Ehrenreich**, **David Protess**, **Dolores Huerta** and **Robert Parris Moses**.

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most effectively responded to the spirit of progressive populism that lifted Congressional Democrats to victory in 2006.

Many observers have attributed a talismanic power to the personage of Barack Obama—his mixed race heritage; the circumstances of his birth and childhood; his middle name, Hussein, often discussed as if it were in and of itself a foreign policy. But beneath the surface of symbols is a politician who was not only born different but who made different choices from other Beltway-bound Ivy Leaguers—especially in his early career as a community organizer on the South Side of Chicago. Of all the leading contenders, Obama shows the most potential to energize disaffected voters. He has campaigned for himself and others in states long written off by the Democratic establishment, and when he appears on the trail it is often alongside grassroots organizers and ordinary citizens. His team of advisers includes familiar former Clinton staffers but also experts plucked from academe and activism whose presence in Washington would represent genuine and welcome change.

An Obama presidency would contain fresh faces—but would it have fresh ideas? We would like to answer with a resounding yes, but Obama has lagged behind Edwards in offering innovative policies and politicizing neglected issues. His healthcare plan is virtually identical to Hillary Clinton's—except it does not include mandates, a conservative feature he has curiously decided to emphasize. Likewise, his plan to exit Iraq exhibits the "strategic drift" toward leaving behind a significant residual force, as if fewer troops could accomplish what more have failed to do. Like Clinton, once in the Senate he has continued to vote for funding the war. These last two matters are especially unfortunate because they undermine what ought to be one of his greatest assets: Barack Obama was opposed to the Iraq War from the very beginning. When so many Democrats backed Bush's military adventure, Obama exercised fine judgment—a quality his campaign has stressed. Since then that judgment has seen some praiseworthy reprises—as when he bucked conventional wisdom by insisting on face-to-face negotiations with Iran, Cuba and Syria—but it has often tilted toward caution and centrism. Obama has skillfully cultivated the image of a postpartisan leader, one with enormous appeal to broad swaths of voters alienated from politics as usual. But if he governs that way, how will progressives who want to take on entrenched interests fare in his administration?

In the following weeks, *The Nation* will continue to cover the campaign, and the candidates, with the hope that a progressive insurgency will make its influence even more deeply felt. The front-loaded primary schedule—with individual states elbowing one another into the first days of 2008—could dampen that hope. There is a possibility that the election will be over in the blink of an eye, before progressives have had a chance to gather momentum. But American electoral politics is a strange and unruly beast—defying expectation as often as fulfilling it. No matter which candidate is chosen, progressives will have to build the public support vital not simply for winning the election but for capturing the opportunity to transform the country. It is that task to which we lend our support and our endorsement.

Calvin Trillin, Deadline Poet

Snake Oil Market Softening

A month ago the Romney camp
Was ready to start kvelling.
But now more voters seem to ask,
"Just what's the smooth guy selling?"

Writers of the World Unite

When one is on strike, sign in hand and chant in voicebox, thoughts can turn quickly to the grandiose. Fully aware, then, that the weeks I have spent on the picket line may have gone to my head, I still say this: somehow the Writers Guild of America has become a legitimate vanguard for the labor movement in America, and this is odd, considering that a week before the strike I wasn't even sure we were a "real" union.

COMMENT

I got my first job writing for TV in 2004 and had to join the WGA, but I had very little idea with whom I was entering into union. The marriage had been arranged by the elders, and I was not allowed to see the bride. I was on staff for a show, so I at least knew what some other writers looked like. Was the rest of the Guild like my co-workers, smartasses of assorted but universally unimposing body types? This was a far cry from the knit caps, tin lunchboxes and brass knuckles of my ironically/appropriately Hollywoodized conception of a labor union.

Of course (sadly?), no modern unions look like that throwback stereotype. But we didn't look like those modern unions either. We didn't organize like the SEIU. We didn't lobby like the teachers. It was a union in name only—we had banded together for collective bargaining that happened every three years, clinically and distantly from the membership. Basically we were like a professional athletes' union but on a greater variety of drugs.

Over the next couple of years, the WGA pretty much remained in apathetic stasis. Sure, there were grumbles about how bad the DVD deal was, a walkout on a reality show in 2006 and, in fact, a successful Comedy Central organizing campaign. But because of the limited scope of the campaign and because, frankly, it was kind of easy, even that fairly satisfying victory left the overall membership ungalvanized.

A month before this year's contract deadline, I still assumed there would be no strike, because we were too businesslike. And when at a strike captains' meeting an organizer referred to us as "brothers and sisters," I found it quaint, and I tittered. Then the talks took a turn for the worse. Most of the membership by that point understood that a new-media deal was do or die, and when we lurched toward "die," wagon circling commenced. The strike authorization vote came in at 90 percent, and the ensuing general meeting of the WGA was the largest in its history. Numerically, unquestionably, this was unity. But was it solidarity? If it wasn't then, it became solidarity out on the line. Normally a group with this many retro nerd glasses can't do anything with conviction, but when we started chant-

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ing old union slogans, it soon became unironic. When Teamsters honor our picket line, we say, "Thanks, brother" without tittering. And when the SEIU asks us to join their march, we do. A cynic would call this self-interest, but the people who do it would say they're motivated by trade unionism, and they wouldn't have said that before.

If authentic solidarity weren't enough, the WGA now finds itself in the position of a vanguard. Locally, we're setting the pace—the WGA is the first of Hollywood's unions to tackle new media, and the contracts of our sister unions (how far I've come!) will be based directly on ours.

But this may be bigger than Hollywood. Nationally, the WGA is bringing the labor movement something it's good at bringing: an audience. This is the highest-profile strike in a long time, in a country not used to strikes. Moreover, this isn't about a local contract or a contract with just one company; the 12,000 members of the WGA write nearly 100 percent of the country's scripted screen entertainment. And there have been celebs!

It matches the newsworthiness of the sports strikes of the 1990s but better fits the strike archetype. First, those guys really were rich, whereas the median annual salary for WGA members is $62,000. Second, we're actually picketing. And picketers are more sympathetic than corporations. That's where coincidence comes in again—frustration with corporatism has never been higher in our lifetime. A national poll conducted at Pepperdine University's business school found that a shocking 63 percent of Americans support the writers. It's possible that that 63 percent have an informed position on Internet residuals, but more likely the WGA has been handed the mantle of American anticorporatism—at least temporarily.

Part of me doubts we deserve it, the same way teenagers shouldn't have nice cars. On the one hand, we've become a real union, but on the other, it still feels so new. My true hope is that the question of desert is irrelevant and too writerly, and all we really have to do with this attention and status is one little thing: win.

LUVH RAKHE

Luvh Rakhe lives in Los Angeles. He has written for television since 2004.

Nation Note

We are happy to announce that with this issue, Peter Gizzi becomes our new poetry editor. Peter is the author of *The Outernationale* (2007), *Some Values of Landscape and Weather* (2003), *Artificial Heart* (1998) and *Periplum* (1992). His poetry has been widely anthologized and translated; his honors include the Lavan Younger Poet Award from the Academy of American Poets and fellowships from the Howard Foundation, the Foundation for Contemporary Arts and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. Peter's work as an editor includes *o•blēk: a journal of language arts* (1987–1993), the *Exact Change Yearbook* (1995) and *The House That Jack Built: The Collected Lectures of Jack Spicer* (1998).

As a poet and an editor, Peter practices the art of the mix, gathering voices that overlap, intersect, blend, diverge, disperse and rhyme. In *o•blēk* and the *Exact Change Yearbook* he brought together poems by the dead and the living, elders and upstarts, the overlooked and misunderstood, the classic and the ephemeral. Given his commitment to the art, his deep understanding of poetic tradition and its capacity to shape the consciousness of the present, his total work could be described as a form of literary activism. As Robert Creeley said of Peter, "Few people I've known have managed such an intensity so usefully directed." We couldn't agree more. Welcome, Peter.

We'd like to note that we are reviving the *Nation* tradition of the poetry editorship being a rotating position. As always, poets should follow the submission guidelines on our website.

Comix Nation

by STEVE BRODNER

EXCLUSIVE: MISSING CIA TAPES found!
"OCT. 13: Waterboarding a RESOUNDING SUCCESS. SUSPECT confesses COMPLICITY in the DEATHS of Nicole BROWN Simpson, ANNA Nicole SMITH, the NICHOLAS BROTHERS, THE COLLIER brothers, BUD Collier, Larry "BUD" Mehlman, LARRY Fine, LIZZY Borden's FAMILY ...and all current members of the NY KNICKS."
STEVE BRODNER

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Eric Alterman

'Bad for the Jews'

Today's topic is the paradox—or one of them, anyway—of American Jewish political behavior. No, it's not that hoary old cliché that they "earn like Episcopalians but vote like Puerto Ricans." Rather, it's that they think like enlightened liberals yet allow belligerent right-wingers and neocons who frequently demonize, distort and denounce their values to speak for them in the US political arena.

Don't take my word for it. According to the American Jewish Committee's 2007 survey of American Jewry, released December 11, a majority of Jews in this country oppose virtually every aspect of the Bush Administration/neocon agenda. Not only do they disapprove of the Administration's handling of its "campaign against terrorism" (59–31 percent), they believe by a 67-to-27 margin that we should never have invaded Iraq. They are unimpressed by the "surge"—68 percent say it has either made no difference or made things worse, and by a 57-to-35 percent majority they oppose an attack on Iran, even if it was undertaken "to prevent [Iran] from developing nuclear weapons."

Jews are also impressively sensible when it comes to Israel/Palestine, all things considered. Though barely more than a third think peace is likely anytime soon, and more than 80 percent believe the goal of the Muslim states is to destroy Israel, a 46-to-43 percent plurality continues to support the creation of a Palestinian state.

This wholesale rejection of the Bush/neocon agenda, moreover, is consistent with the way American Jews describe their overall political identity. Jews are more liberal than conservative (43–25 percent) and far more Democratic than Republican (58–15 percent). This preference, significantly, extends to national security issues, often considered a Republican trump card. By a massive 61-to-21 percent margin, Jews say Democrats, not Republicans, are "more likely to make the right decision about the war in Iraq." Regarding terrorism, Democrats win 53-to-30 percent.

As a Jew who shares most of these beliefs, I am tempted to trumpet these numbers as big news, but it's news only if you haven't been paying attention. An examination of past AJC surveys as well as a number of other polls of American Jews demonstrates that Jews have remained remarkably faithful to the values of liberal humanism. These views, however, have been obscured in our political discourse by an unholy alliance between conservative-dominated professional Jewish organizations and neoconservative Jewish pundits, aided by pliant and frequently clueless mainstream media that empower these right-wingers to speak for a people with values diametrically opposed to theirs.

Take a look at the agendas of some of the most influential Jewish organizations, like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the Anti-Defamation League, the Zionist Organization of America and the American Jewish Committee itself; each has historically associated itself with the hawkish side of the debate—and some have done so even when Israel took the more dovish side (the Jewish equivalent of being holier than the Pope). Forget for a moment the argument over whether what some call "the Lobby" is good or bad for America. My point is that it's bad for the Jews.

In large part the trouble lies with the antidemocratic structures of these organizations and the apathy of most Jews with regard to organized Jewish life. Major Jewish groups respond to the demands of their top funders and best-organized constituencies. Most American Jews, however, have little or nothing to do with these groups. According to the AJC survey, while 90 percent of Jews say being Jewish is either "very important" (61 percent) or "fairly important" (29 percent) in their lives, exactly half say they belong to a synagogue or temple. A fraction of this number belong to Jewish political organizations, and the number of major funders is but a tiny percentage of that. As with so much of American life, the far-right minority is better funded and better disciplined than the liberal majority.

Fault can also be found with lazy editors, reporters, producers and the like who invite neocon and other unrepresentative people to speak for Jews and Jewish values. Consider the most prominent Jewish voices in the punditocracy who regularly sound off on Israel, Iraq, Iran, the Middle East, etc. My list includes Irving Kristol, William Kristol, Seth Lipsky, Martin Peretz, Norman Podhoretz, John Podhoretz, Richard Perle, Richard Cohen, Mortimer Zuckerman, Alan Dershowitz, Jeffrey Goldberg, Lawrence Kaplan, Charles Krauthammer, David Horowitz, Jonah Goldberg, David Gelernter, Ruth Wisse, David Brooks and David Frum. Most are Bush apologists, most supported the invasion of Iraq and most are sympathetic to the idea of an invasion of Iran. Not infrequently, leading Jewish pundits mock and ridicule the majority Jewish views. Irving Kristol, writing in *Azure*, attacks the "political stupidity" of American Jews. Gelernter, writing in *The Weekly Standard*, complains of Jewish political behavior as "a lesson in self-destructive nihilism."

Given the scare tactics the neocons routinely employ—from their frequent deployment of the intellectually vacuous term "Islamofascism," to Perle and Frum's warning that the nation's only choice is "victory or holocaust"—it is a remarkable tribute to the good sense of American Jewry that it remains a bastion of liberal humanism despite such naked attempts to manipulate longstanding fears and insecurities.

These pundits have every right to put forth their views, of course. It's long past time, however, for the mainstream media to recognize just how out of touch they are with the values of the American Jewish mainstream.

If not now, when? ■

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Naomi Klein

Zapatista Code Red

San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas

Nativity scenes are plentiful in San Cristóbal de las Casas, a colonial city in the highlands of Chiapas, Mexico. But the one that greets visitors at the entrance to the TierrAdentro cultural center has a local twist: figurines on donkeys wear miniature ski masks and carry wooden guns.

It is high season for "Zapatourism," the industry of international travelers that has sprung up around the indigenous uprising here, and TierrAdentro is ground zero. Zapatista-made weavings, posters and jewelry are selling briskly. In the courtyard restaurant, where the mood at 10 PM is festive verging on fuzzy, college students drink Sol beer. A young man holds up a photograph of Subcomandante Marcos, as always in mask with pipe, and kisses it. His friends snap yet another picture of this most documented of movements.

I am taken through the revelers to a room in the back of the center, closed to the public. The somber mood here seems a world away. Ernesto Ledesma Arronte, a 40-year-old ponytailed researcher, is hunched over military maps and human rights incident reports. "Did you understand what Marcos said?" he asks me. "It was very strong. He hasn't said anything like that in many years."

Arronte is referring to a speech Marcos made the night before at a conference outside San Cristóbal. The speech was titled "Feeling Red: The Calendar and the Geography of War." Because it was Marcos, it was poetic and slightly elliptical. But to Arronte's ears, it was a code-red alert. "Those of us who have made war know how to recognize the paths by which it is prepared and brought near," Marcos said. "The signs of war on the horizon are clear. War, like fear, also has a smell. And now we are starting to breathe its fetid odor in our lands."

Marcos's assessment supports what Arronte and his fellow researchers at the Center of Political Analysis and Social and Economic Investigations have been tracking with their maps and charts. On the fifty-six permanent military bases that the Mexican state runs on indigenous land in Chiapas, there has been a marked increase in activity. Weapons and equipment are being dramatically upgraded, new battalions are moving in, including special forces—all signs of escalation.

As the Zapatistas became a global symbol for a new model of resistance, it was possible to forget that the war in Chiapas never actually ended. For his part, Marcos—despite his clandestine identity—has been playing a defiantly open role in Mexican politics, most notably during the fiercely contested 2006 presidential elections. Rather than endorsing the center-left candidate, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, he spearheaded a parallel "Other Campaign," holding rallies that called attention to issues ignored by the major candidates.

In this period, Marcos's role as military leader of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) seemed to fade into the background. He was Delegate Zero—the anti-candidate. Last night, Marcos had announced that the conference would be his last such appearance for some time. "Look, the EZLN is an army," he reminded his audience, and he is its "military chief."

That army faces a grave new threat—one that cuts to the heart of the Zapatistas' struggle. During the 1994 uprising, the EZLN claimed large stretches of land and collectivized them, its most tangible victory. In the San Andrés Accords, the right to territory was recognized, but the Mexican government has refused to fully ratify the accords. After failing to enshrine these rights, the Zapatistas decided to turn them into facts on the ground. They formed their own government structures—called good-government councils—and stepped up the building of autonomous schools and clinics. As the Zapatistas expand their role as the de facto government in large areas of Chiapas, the federal and state governments' determination to undermine them is intensifying.

"Now," says Arronte, "they have their method." The method is to use the deep desire for land among all peasants in Chiapas against the Zapatistas. Arronte's organization has documented that, in just one region, the government has spent approximately $16 million expropriating land and giving it to many families linked to the notoriously corrupt Institutional Revolutionary Party. Often, the land is already occupied by Zapatista families. Most ominously, many of the new "owners" are linked to thuggish paramilitary groups, which are trying to force the Zapatistas from the newly titled land. Since September there has been a marked escalation of violence: shots fired into the air, brutal beatings, Zapatista families reporting being threatened with death, rape and dismemberment. Soon the soldiers in their barracks may well have the excuse they need to descend: restoring "peace" among feuding indigenous groups. For months the Zapatistas have been resisting violence and trying to expose these provocations. But by choosing not to line up behind Obrador in the 2006 election, the movement made powerful enemies. And now, says Marcos, their calls for help are being met with a deafening silence.

Exactly ten years ago, on December 22, 1997, the Acteal massacre took place. As part of the anti-Zapatista campaign, a paramilitary gang opened fire in a small church in the village of Acteal, killing forty-five indigenous people, sixteen of them children and adolescents. Some bodies were hacked with machetes. The state police heard the gunfire and did nothing. For weeks now, Mexico's newspapers have been filled with articles marking the tragic ten-year anniversary of the massacre.

In Chiapas, however, many people point out that conditions today feel eerily familiar: the paramilitaries, the rising tensions, the mysterious activities of the soldiers, the renewed isolation from the rest of the country. And they have a plea to those who supported them in the past: don't just look back. Look forward, and prevent another Acteal massacre before it happens. ■

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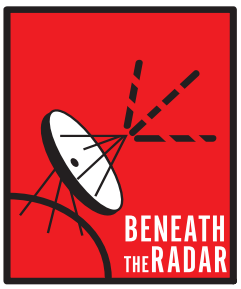
Gary Younge

In Europe, Where's the Hate?

Over the past year or so the rural Italian idyll of Colle di Val d'Elsa has played host to a bitter battle for Enlightenment values. On one side, the hamlet's small Muslim community has raised a considerable amount of money to build a large mosque. Having gained the mayor's approval, the Muslims signed a declaration of cooperation with the town hall and even planted a Christmas tree at the site as a good-will gesture.

In response, other locals pelted them with sausages and dumped a severed pig's head at the site. On a wall near the site vandals daubed: "No Mosque," "Christian Hill" and "Thanks to the communists the Arabs are in our house!!!"

Such is the central dynamic in European race relations at present. It is probably not the dynamic you have heard most about. The most popular one making the rounds this side of the Atlantic involves hordes of Muslims, rabid with anti-Semitic and misogynistic views, running amok as they bomb, bully and outbreed their clueless liberal hosts in a bid to build a caliphate.



"Do you have a child back in England?" an elderly Los Angelena asked a British reporter on a recent *National Review* cruise.

"No," he said.

"You'd better start," she replied. "The Muslims are breeding. Soon, they'll have the whole of Europe."

Nor is it by any means the only dynamic. There *are* a handful of nihilistic young Muslims keen to bomb and destroy and a far larger number sufficiently disaffected that they are prepared to riot. There are also many Europeans keen to see equality and meaningful integration, defending civil liberties and opposing wars against predominantly Muslim lands.

But the primary threat to democracy in Europe is not "Islamofascism"—that clunking, thuggish phrase that keeps lashing out in the hope that it will one day strike a meaning—but plain old fascism. The kind whereby mostly white Europeans take to the streets to terrorize minorities in the name of racial, cultural or religious superiority.

For fascism—and the xenophobic, racist and nationalistic elements that are its most vile manifestations—has returned as a mainstream ideology in Europe. Its advocates not only run in elections but win them. They control local councils and sit in parliaments. In Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France and Italy, hard-right nationalist and anti-immigrant parties regularly receive more than 10 percent of the vote. In Norway it is 22 percent; in Switzerland, 29 percent. In Italy and Austria they have been in government; in Switzerland, where the anti-immigrant Swiss People's Party is the largest party, they still are.

This is not new. From Austria to Antwerp, Italy to France, fascists have been performing well at the polls for more than a decade. Nor are they shy about their bigotry. France's Jean-Marie Le Pen has described the Nazi gas chambers as a "detail of history"; Austria's Jörg Haider once thanked a group of Austrian World War II veterans, including former SS officers, for "stick[ing] to their convictions despite the greatest opposition." But the attacks of 9/11, the bombings in Spain and Britain and the riots in France gave the hard right new traction. The polarizing effects of terrorism facilitated the journey of hard-right agendas from the margins to the mainstream. Islamophobia became de rigueur. Recently German Chancellor Angela Merkel told a Christian Democrat party congress that "we must take care that mosque cupolas are not built demonstratively higher than church steeples."

In September 2006, British novelist Martin Amis told the *Times* of London: "There's a definite urge—don't you have it?—to say, 'the Muslim community will have to suffer until it gets its house in order.' What sort of suffering? Not letting them travel. Deportation—further down the road. Curtailing of freedoms. Strip-searching people who look like they're from the Middle East or from Pakistan…. Discriminatory stuff, until it hurts the whole community and they start getting tough with their children."

Far from being the principal purveyors of racial animus in Europe, Muslims are its principal targets. Between 2000 and 2005 officially reported racist violence rose 71 percent in Denmark, 34 percent in France and 21 percent in Ireland. With few governments collecting data on racial crime victims, it has been left to NGOs to record the sharp rise in attacks on Muslims, those believed to be Muslims and Muslim targets.

None of this means anti-Semitism and jihadism don't exist among Muslim communities in Europe. But it does provide a context for both. Muslims are a relatively tiny percentage of European citizens—there is a higher proportion of Asians in Utah than Muslims in Italy—and are overwhelmingly concentrated among the poor. More than 40 percent of Bangladeshi men in Britain under the age of 25 are unemployed. All of this excuses nothing but explains a great deal. According to a Pew Research Center survey, the principal concerns of Muslims in France, Germany and Spain are unemployment and Islamic extremism. Integrating into a society that won't employ you, educate you or house you adequately is no easy feat. Participating in a political culture that scapegoats you is also tough. Attacked as Muslims at home and abroad, they defend themselves as Muslims. Every respected report in Britain has shown a direct link between the war in Iraq and recruitment to Islamist movements. And so the symbiosis of Islamophobes and Islamists is complete, with each thriving on polarization and prejudice: picking at scabs that might have healed, until the blood runs freely.

The most potent anti-Semites and bigots in Europe do not live in run-down housing projects but grace the corridors of power. They are not Muslim; they are Christian. The continent is not suffering from some new strain of bigotry imported from the Arab world or the Maghreb—it is simply suffering from one of its oldest viruses harbored among its most established ethnic populations. ■

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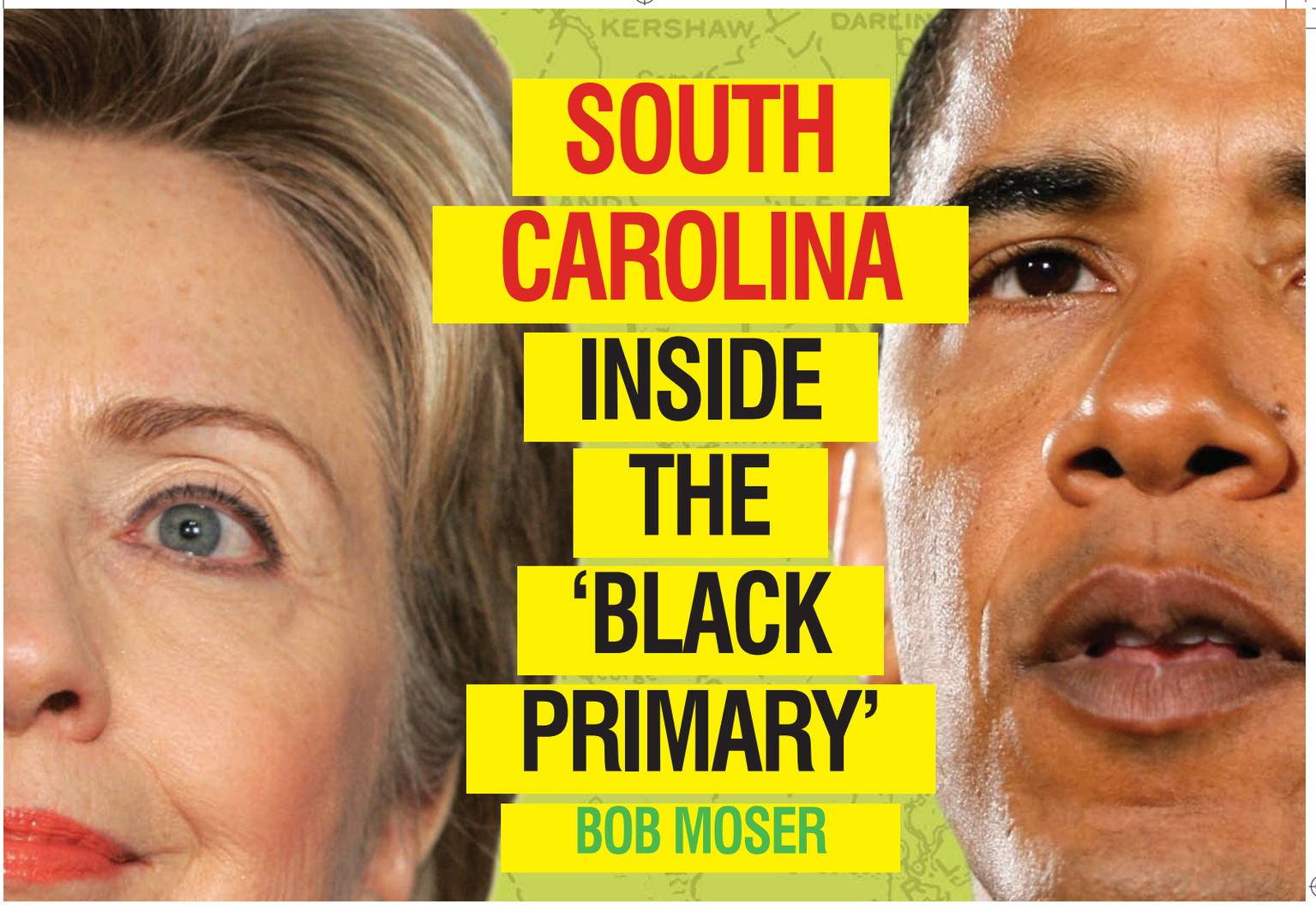

SOUTH CAROLINA INSIDE THE 'BLACK PRIMARY'

BOB MOSER

PURPLE AMERICA

Columbia

You couldn't blame Barack Obama for feeling all biblical on that second Sunday in December. There he was, emerging triumphantly from the same tunnel where the Gamecocks football team spills out on Saturdays, under the warm blue sky of an afternoon that felt miraculously like spring, amid the foot-stomps and hollered blessings of the biggest campaign crowd of the year, with Oprah Herself hallooing above the din, "Bar-*ack* O-*bam*-a! Bar-*ack* O-*bam*-a!" If the skies had suddenly cracked open above Williams-Brice Stadium and God's voice boomed down "Vote for Barack" while a heavenly choir belted out "Oh Happy Day," it would have seemed like just another part of the show. Right here in Obama's must-win early primary state, where a new poll was showing him in a statistical dead heat with Hillary Clinton. Right here with the very people—mostly African-Americans and mostly women—who have given the Man from Audacity the roughest going-over of his political life. And still are.

"I am so grateful to be here today," Obama beamed, soaking up the adulation and sliding into dialect. "Givin' all praise and honor to Gahd. Look at the day that the Lord has made. I would be blessed even if I was in Chicago, but I don't mind being in seventy-degree weather." As the 29,000 cheered, he cut in, chuckling his rich chuckle: "Michelle said, 'Praise the Lawd!' It's been *cooold* up in Chicago!"

For most of 2007 Obama's been feeling a chill down here, too. With African-Americans likely to make up a majority of primary voters on the Democratic side, South Carolina's contest is as close to a "black primary" as we're going to get in 2008—the only time in the entire campaign, almost certainly, when Democrats will be fighting all-out for African-American votes. Clinton's support among African-Americans, largely thanks to her husband's popularity, proved surprisingly strong at first, as did her smooth, state-of-the-art machine politics; as late as September, a CNN poll gave her a stunning 57 percent of the black vote here, to Obama's paltry 33. That would deal a death blow to Obama's chances, not only here but in the February 5 primaries, especially in Alabama and Georgia, where large numbers of black voters are weighing their choices—and watching South Carolina.

But while the contest here has been widely portrayed as a Clinton-Obama battle for black votes—especially those of black women reportedly torn between their enthusiasm for electing a sister versus a brother—the real focus, from the get-go, has been relentlessly on Obama. In a state where the Rev. Jesse Jackson's wildly successful 1988 uprising still stands as a high-water mark for black political aspirations, Obama's cool style and post-civil-rights rhetoric went over like a lead balloon in the early months of the campaign. The trouble was epitomized by a speech he gave to the legislative black caucus in April, where he offered his joking opinion that "a good economic development plan for our community would be if we make sure folks weren't throwing garbage out of their cars." To folks like Kevin Alexander Gray, who ran Jackson's campaign here, this smacked not of fresh thinking but of "the oldest racial stereotypes. Translation: black people are dirty and lazy." Obama's middle-of-the-aisle message and delivery kept reinforcing black

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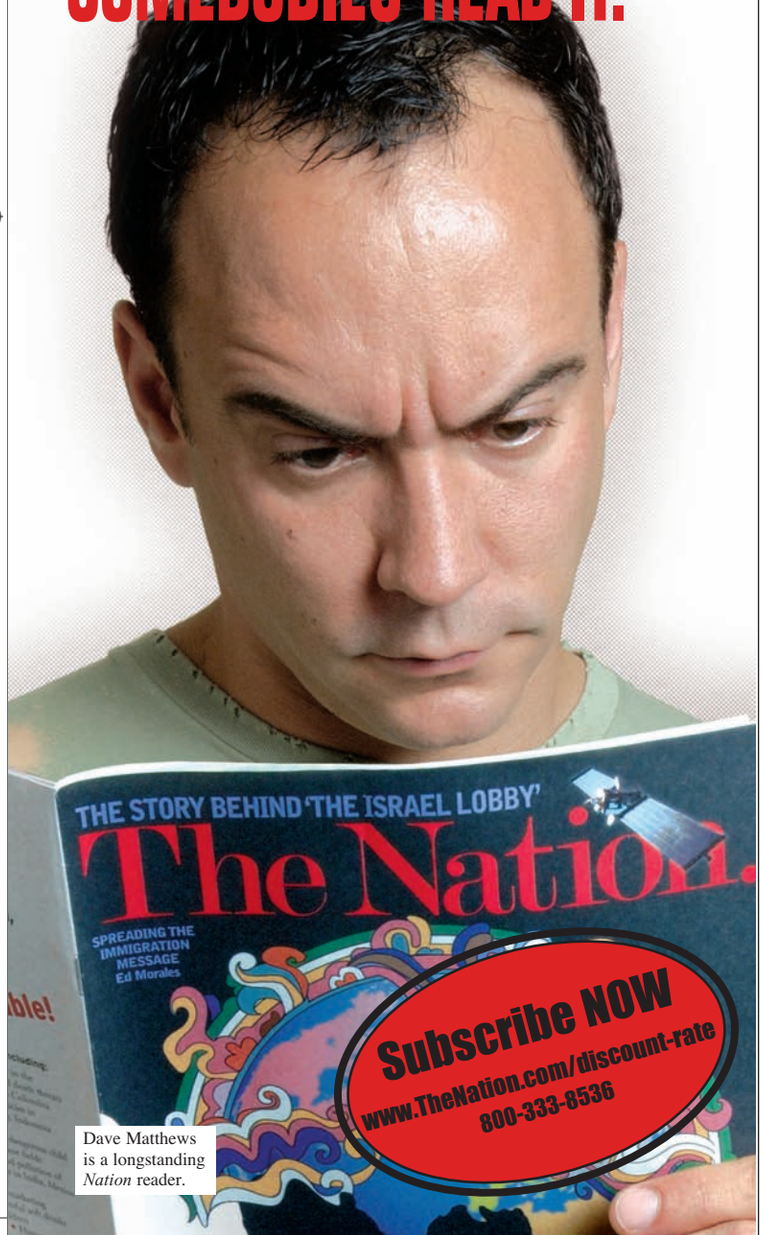

Dave Matthews is a longstanding *Nation* reader.

South Carolinians' doubts about whether he was sufficiently one of them. "I've heard people say, and I've probably said it myself, 'He's a white boy,'" says Gray. "Or he's what some working-class black people perceive as a middle-class Negro. Anyway, let's face it: you don't get a revolution from Harvard."

The tide began to turn late last summer, when Obama and his surrogates were recasting his image from that of brainy harbinger of a new "colorblind" politics to latter-day extension of the civil rights movement. The wonk became a kind of messiah lite, mixing down-home, preacherly populism into his message and proclaiming, "I'm running because of what Dr. King calls 'the fierce urgency of now.'" Black voters' qualms were recast, too, as sad examples of what Michelle Obama, speaking in Anderson in September, called "that veil of impossibility that keeps us down and keeps our children down…the bitter legacy of racism and discrimination and oppression in this country." The only proper response being "to dig deep in our souls, confront our own self-doubt and recognize that our destiny is in our hands."

Or, more to the point, in the hands of Brother Barack. "You know," Oprah said as she introduced him in Columbia, "Dr. King dreamed the dream. But we don't have to just dream the dream anymore. We get to vote that dream into reality."

Many of the folks who came out to cheer their man had clearly gotten the message. "I believe anything is possible," said Obama volunteer Josie Barton. "If you say that it's not going to happen, and don't do anything about it, then nothing will change. You have to step up to the plate. Words without works is dead." But below the glinty facade of Obama's blessed day, the doubts had hardly been shaken off. "I've heard a lot of black people saying they don't want to vote for Barack," Barton's daughter Michelle told me, "because they don't believe it would make a difference. They feel that even if a lot of white people voted for him, somebody in a higher-up position would still find a way for him not to win." Her sister and a friend, both fellow Obama volunteers, nodded their heads, "Yeah. Yeah."

But will white people vote for him in the first place? I asked. "No," they all answered emphatically.

The South Carolina campaign has opened a unique window into the fractured state of black politics in twenty-first-century America—a gumbo of bleak cynicism, wary pragmatism, frustrated progressive aspirations and messianic longings. It has been, for black voters and candidates alike, one long, extended soul search. And it ain't over yet.

It was exactly what the Clinton campaign wanted to see: the front page of the Spartanburg *Herald-Journal* featuring an oversized photo of a beaming Hillary, flanked by more than sixty applauding African-Americans in their Sunday best, under the headline Black Pastors Stand Behind Clinton. On Hillary's left, smiling, stood one of the most familiar figures in the local religious community, the Rev. J.W. Sanders, longtime pastor of two churches. Introducing the senator from New York, Sanders had called her "the right choice," a "lady who has proven herself to do exactly what should be done."

Coming just a week and a half before the Oprah-Obama rally, it was a vivid demonstration that while Clinton's support

Bob Moser is a Nation *contributing writer.*

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among black voters has dramatically fallen—a December Rasmussen poll gave Obama 51 percent and Clinton 27 percent—it hasn't exactly disappeared. But the photo-op did not tell the story. For all of Clinton's elaborately staged symbolism, there was plenty of messy soul-searching furiously churning away. Even in the Reverend Sanders. After Hillary gave her typically crisp, less-than-poetic spiel to the Spartanburg crowd ("I want to get us back to setting goals for America"), I asked the pastor why he'd gone with her. "We are looking for proven leadership," he said, echoing the vague line I heard from dozens of Clinton supporters in South Carolina. "We are not looking at race or gender. We are looking to do things that would help America, period."

But doesn't it give you qualms, I asked, to bypass Obama? Sanders's preacherly grin dissipated. "In a sense, it does. I'll be very candid with you: it does. Yes, it does have a tinge of conscience on our part in regards to that. But," he added, getting back on message, "we've been trying to move beyond that and support the person because of who or what they've been standing for. We don't want to be pigeonholed or put in a box."

Even less comfortable was State Representative Harold Mitchell, an early Obama supporter who'd defected to Clinton and helped organize the event. "I was originally caught up in the hoopla" over Obama, Mitchell explained. "I tuned her out because here was somebody exciting." But then, around the time Clinton invited him to testify at the first-ever Senate hearing on environmental justice, Mitchell began to believe it was more important to find someone who "can actually get it done. She is the candidate we know we can win the general election with."

Because a black man can't win? "I—*what*?" Mitchell stammered. "Let's not even talk about the fact that he's an articulate, sharp African-American. Hey, one day. But right now, we don't have time for experimentation."

From the beginning, Clinton has been the fall-back candidate for African-Americans here. She has done all the expected things to woo black voters: held forth in black churches and colleges, called for removing the Confederate flag from the Statehouse, lined up endorsements from preachers and politicians, and deployed her wildly popular husband to the state with increasing urgency. She's talked about the Bible (favorite book: James), and she's winced over the "Corridor of Shame," a particularly desperate and heavily black stretch of I-95 that was the subject of a recent documentary by the same name. It hasn't hurt that Clinton's campaign started early with a "phenomenal, highly professional organization" that Obama's more free-flowing, grassrootsy campaign was hard-pressed to match, said Scott Huffmon, a political scientist at Rock Hill's Winthrop University. But mostly, Huffmon said, "She's attracted voters worried about Obama's viability, or his politics, or his 'blackness.' They love Bill, and that's enough. It's not about her."

That became crystal clear in the spring, when prominent State Senator Robert Ford explained why he'd opted for Clinton over Obama. "Every Democrat running on that ticket next year would lose because he's black and he's on top of the ticket," Ford told the AP. "We'd lose the House and the Senate and the governors and everything."

Most folks prefer to put it a little less bluntly. At the Spartanburg rally I ask Phyllis Carter, who teaches English at a local two-year college, why she's standing in line to shake Clinton's hand. "I think she's the brightest person, doing what she's doing, and she's done it a long time," Carter said. "She's the best. I think about Obama all the time. But he may not have the experience to do what she can do. The fact that she's a woman—she's special." What about the argument that a woman can't win? "Ah, we're over all that stupid stuff," Carter said.

But what about the other "stupid stuff," I asked. Is it easier for a woman to win than an African-American? Carter paused, pursing her lips. "Maybe." She paused again. "Look at how long we've been here: 1554. Now, we didn't come on boats because we decided we wanted to come and be a part of you. We came on a boat tied left leg to right leg. The accomplishments that we've done since then are pretty amazing when you think about it. We're not going away. We're going to be voted for at some point in the game. One of these days we'll have a President."

Just not this day.

Across town in Obama's cramped and bustling Spartanburg office—a converted attic upstairs from the local Democratic Party headquarters—it was a whole 'nother story. "Pull up a chair, honey," said Carolyn Reed-Smith, an elementary teacher working the phones at a folding table. "I had been really drawn to Hillary at first," she explained. "Because I voted for her husband. I thought, 'Wow! Now we'll have him and her.'" But then in June Obama came to Reed-Smith's church, Mount Moriah Baptist, and made a convert. "He had such a calming presence. It's sort of biblical, but I believe in men having dominion and having some sort of mystical power that God gave them," she said. "I believe Barack has acquired that."

> 'When I look at what both Obama and Clinton say, and what they do, they are not it. They are both chameleons.' —Efia Nwangaza, activist

To Reed-Smith, the questions about Obama's "blackness" actually point up one of his most important assets. "I believe that he has the best of two cultures within him. He has had such loving nurturing from our African culture, and then I think from the Caucasian culture he has the wit and intellect that's so sharp. I just think that both of those things together, it's the best of both worlds that he has within him. I just felt like I would rather work to see that he gets the presidency."

And work she does—every spare moment. Reed-Smith is one of some 15,000 true believers statewide fueling Obama's unconventional volunteer-driven campaign. While Obama has snagged his share of endorsements and sweet-talked his share of preachers—and while he's matched Clinton's top-level staffing with forty paid professionals—the focus has been on person-to-person, ground-level contact between volunteers and their neighbors. That's made it easier for Obama's campaign to calibrate its appeals to the complicated mix of black politics. "The mistake Democrats always make," says Huffmon, "is seeing blacks here as monolithic and as more liberal than they are. Obama's campaign hasn't organized around the stereotypes."

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Along with the usual church network, the campaign has put together a Main Street network of more than 900 black barber shops and beauty salons, among other innovations. "There's not been retail politics in the past here, at least not like Iowa or New Hampshire," says Amaya Smith, Obama's South Carolina press secretary. "People still get information from their churches, but here they're getting it directly from folks like this."

Folks like Sheila Davis. At a tiny desk by the window, the Naval Reserve officer is meticulously inking posters advertising The 'O' Factor: Obama & Oprah.

"The very first time I heard him speak," Davis says, "he said something to the effect of, 'We don't have the right to be tired.' That really hit home with me. That touched my heart. We really *don't* have the right to be tired. Because our forefathers, our foreparents, worked so hard to get us where we are now. I don't care what we have going on in our lives, we still have to make time for what's important. And this is important." It's not only the first campaign she's worked on, Davis says. "It's the first campaign I have ever had a desire to work on." While she emphasizes that she "did a great deal of research" into Obama's issues, Davis also sees something broader at stake.

"Coming from a military family, I'm used to working with all kinds of people to accomplish one mission. He wants to unite everybody. That's the type of work I'm used to doing. Working with *all* people, to fulfill a mission. So we share a lot of the same ideas—his are just on a larger scale than mine!"

She laughs, then sighs. "I just admire him. I admire him. Can I say that enough?"

At the big rally in Columbia, Oprah notched up her Obama-as-savior rhetoric by referencing a scene in *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*. "I remember Miss Pittman, her body all worn and withered and bent over. As she would approach the children, she would say to each one, 'Are you the one? Are you the one?'" Oprah didn't mention that Miss Pittman was looking for a black messiah. She didn't have to. "I watched that movie many years ago, but I do believe today I have the answer to Miss Pittman's question. It's a question that the entire nation is asking. Is he the one?" Tentative cheers. "Is he the one?" Big cheers. "South Carolina," Oprah proclaimed, "I do believe he's the one."

When Efia Nwangaza heard that, she could only wonder: "He's the one for who, and what?" Nwangaza, a longtime activist and onetime Green Party US Senate candidate, is among the many black (and white) progressives left cold by the symbolic standoff between Clinton and Obama. But it didn't stop her from driving from Greenville to witness the Sunday spectacle. "I had mixed feelings," she told me afterward. "I was really moved by it. By the yearning of the people who were there to have someone representing them and their interests. I understand the yearning, in that I am also tired. Having been a civil rights-cum-human rights activist all my life, having had movement parents, I would be so relieved to know that there is a fruitful end to those efforts, and that some candidate embodied it. But I don't think that's what's happening with Barack Obama."

Or Hillary Clinton. "When I look at what both Obama and Clinton say, and what they do, they are not it. They are both chameleons. They are both opportunistic. They both come from the overcompensatory 'being first' frame of reference. Which means that they will be more white male than any white male, including George W. Bush, would ever be. My feeling is that people across the board are being sold a bill of goods."

Kevin Alexander Gray, who's working on a book called *The Decline of American Politics, From Malcolm X to Barack Obama*, seconded the point. "People say they're voting for Obama because they want a change. A change to what? This is people thinking that the cosmetic is more important than the structural. Obama is a candidate who happens to be black. That's his prerogative, and it's fine. But it's not what we need. Obama's campaign is not a movement. It is someone running for office."

Gray fears that Obama might be just the ticket for self-proclaimed colorblind white people to prove their mettle. "To the extent that the Democratic Party is using Obama to cancel its debt to the African-American community, I am concerned," he said. "I'm thinking about calling my next column 'Niggers, Nooses and Obama.' There is this mentality of, 'Well, I'd never use the word nigger, and I am outraged by nooses, and I like Obama.' So everything's OK with race now."

Even so, Gray can't ignore one ticklish fact: "The brother *is* black." And while he prefers Kucinich's liberalism and Edwards's populism, Gray admitted that he just might "end up being guilted into voting for the brother." He frowned, debating out loud. "But a movement has to be *about* something. I have my problems with Reverend Jackson, but when you look at the construction of that campaign, the way the elements came together—that was a movement. Or the start of one. Because we organized around a progressive platform that was coherent and consistent."

The Jackson campaign was the last time Marjorie Hammock, a longtime social worker who does expert defense testimony in death-penalty cases, allowed herself to get swept up in politics. Hammock's first campaign was Adlai Stevenson, she said, laughing. Originally from Brooklyn, she worked in the inner circle of Shirley Chisholm's pathbreaking 1972 run. And then she moved to South Carolina—"a whole new planet," where the Jackson campaign came just in time. "That was exciting," she said, and it "paved the way for a number of people to get active in politics. By the same token, though, another kind of apathy developed as a response to the fact that Jackson didn't win. That maybe if we had someone who was that powerful, with that much organization, and he didn't win, it was hopeless. A kind of depression set in. And what we didn't do was say, 'Where do we go from here? What do we do now?'"

Like many progressives, Hammock is leaning toward Edwards—one reason he's jumped into a competitive position in recent polls after lagging far behind the front-runners for most of 2007. But just the night before, she'd gone to an Obama focus group to see what was what. "I must say, there really are a number of African-Americans here who are terribly excited about Obama," she said. "Because it looks like the closest you're ever going to get.

"He's viable, in many kinds of ways. He's got some good positions on things that are important. He's not a black candidate. He truly is a candidate of the people, and that's good." What makes Obama not a black candidate? "I think his life," said Hammock. "I mean, I think he's interested in black people, no question about it. He demonstrated that in terms of his work in Chicago. But for me, in part, and this may sound petty, but

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who do you cite when you talk about things? Frederick Douglass? Du Bois? Ida B. Wells? No. We hear from Kennedy a lot. Now, I can't blame Obama for that. What were his references growing up? But I'm just identifying what I think I see. And it ain't bad. It's just not what I would call a black candidate."

But she doesn't pooh-pooh Obama's claim that, as the Democratic nominee, he'd bring out 30 percent more black voters and put deep red Dixie states like Mississippi, and possibly South Carolina, into play. "I can see that," she says. "We can sometimes get real loyal. But there are a number of people who don't want him to win, because they're scared that he'll be dead the very next day. I have heard that so much! He can't win, but even if he does, he'll never be President. Not in these United States. I hear that more than anything else. That's the fatalism we feel about this place, clearly. I mean South Carolina, of course, *and* America." ■

Divided States

Reflecting public ambivalence, local responses to illegal immigration are all over the map.

by PETER SCHRAG

In the past year, we've become a nation of a thousand immigration laws and policies—a confusing mosaic of fear, anger and nativism, of generosity, reason and self-defeating silliness. Although some of those laws were enacted before the Senate failed to pass comprehensive immigration reform in June, that failure greatly expanded the vacuum that local efforts sought to fill. It has also nourished the demagoguery that helps drive them, made immigration a prime domestic issue in the 2008 presidential campaign and intensified the fears those laws in turn produce.

If your name is Hernandez and you speak little English, can you risk reporting a crime to the local cops without being turned over to Immigration and Customs Enforcement? If you have a contagious disease or you're a drug addict, how willing will you be to seek treatment, and how safe are other residents because of that fear? And what about those driver's licenses? What happens when a car driven by an American citizen collides with one driven by an undocumented—and uninsured—immigrant? As the anti-immigrant zealots fan a generalized hysteria, these unresolved questions, which provoke legitimate fears, get little airtime. And there are many more: what are the chances of being stopped on the highway by sheriff's deputies empowered to arrest illegal immigrants, or of legal residents being rousted at midnight by warrantless raids?

There are also important questions of social policy crying out for redress. What sort of future is facing an 18-year-old high school graduate who was brought here by her parents as a young child and knows no other country but can't go to college, get a driver's license or a legal job? Conversely, how large a price should local schools have to pay to teach English to the children of illegal immigrants? A nation struggling with such issues is in dire need of leadership from its central government.

In the first eleven months of 2007, forty-six state legislatures passed nearly 250 immigration laws—some 1,560 were introduced, nearly triple the number for the same period in 2006. Cities and counties have enacted hundreds more, ranging all over the philosophical and political map.

REUTERS/JIM YOUNG / LUCY NICHOLSON

Immigration rights observers face off at rallies in DC (top) and LA (bottom).

Begin with the action the city council of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, took in 2006 to prohibit landlords from renting to undocumented aliens. Hazleton's ordinance, which preceded the Senate vote, became a model for similar measures in the Southern California city of Escondido and in the Dallas suburb of Farmers Branch. All three quickly faced constitutional challenges—the Escondido council reversed itself in the face of mounting legal costs; the Hazleton and Farmers Branch laws were blocked by federal courts. But the anxieties and rage that drove those acts weren't dampened by a couple of judges.

It's a long list. Last February Lake Havasu, Arizona, like a number of other cities, made an agreement with the feds under which local cops will be trained by federal agents to interrogate and detain all illegal immigrants for deportation. In June Green Bay, Wisconsin, voted to yank the licenses of businesses that hire undocumented immigrants. In October the supervisors in Prince William County, Virginia, voted to crack down on illegal immigrants by increasing police enforcement, creating a Criminal Alien Unit and denying virtually all services, including substance abuse counseling. In addition to a long list of sanctions, the Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act of 2007 makes it a felony to "conceal, harbor or shelter from detection any alien."

Peter Schrag, longtime editor of the Sacramento Bee *editorial pages, is a columnist for the paper. His most recent book,* California: America's High-Stakes Experiment, *will be published in paperback in January.*

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Similar state laws have been enacted in Arizona and Tennessee. Alabama has created a Joint Interim Patriotic Immigration Commission to figure out some comprehensive approach to undocumented immigrants (a group that was immediately attacked as being stacked with pro-business and pro-immigrant voices). In October Missouri Governor Matt Blunt issued a press release lavishly praising the arrest and delivery to immigration authorities of a vanload of illegal immigrants who were stopped on the pretext of following another vehicle too closely. He promised (in Churchillian cadences) to "make every effort, implement every tool and take every step to ensure the laws against illegal immigration are enforced." Virginia has prohibited the sale of automatic weapons to illegal aliens, and Rhode Island approved legislation that will issue ID cards to all residents over 21—excepting only undocumented immigrants—allowing them to drink alcohol.

In other places, the response has been more positive. Last summer, the city council of New Haven, Connecticut, enacted a measure to issue what it calls Elm City Resident Cards—ID cards that also serve as small-balance debit cards—to all local residents, legal and illegal. In November San Francisco adopted a virtually identical program. Also last summer, the Illinois legislature prohibited employers from participating in the mandatory federal employee verification system until the feds get their data systems in order; the Department of Homeland Security promptly filed suit to overturn the law. (A few weeks later, US District Judge Charles Breyer in San Francisco, citing the high likelihood of error and jeopardy to legal workers, upheld a challenge filed by the ACLU and a coalition of labor and business groups to implementation of the employee "no-match" verification system.) The DHS has since asked for more time to revise the system.

Some fifty jurisdictions, among them San Francisco, Los Angeles and Cambridge, Massachusetts, have declared themselves sanctuary cities or cities of refuge and/or ordered their employees not to cooperate with the feds in enforcing federal immigration laws. Some, like Stamford, Connecticut, have created "no-hassle zones" for day laborers seeking jobs, nearly all of them undocumented. Detroit has an anti-profiling ordinance that prevents cops and other city employees from questioning people on the basis of a whole range of characteristics, including immigration status. Oakland, California, requires all municipal departments to have bilingual employees to deal with its diversity of non-English-speaking residents.

Some jurisdictions have changed their minds. Phoenix, which had been a quasi-sanctuary city, seems to be on the verge of reversing itself. Riverside, New Jersey, conversely, repealed its anti-illegal-immigrant ordinance after the resulting exodus (mostly of Brazilians) hit restaurants, beauty parlors and other local businesses—some were forced to close—and left a growing number of boarded-up downtown storefronts. In Oregon the legislature passed a law prohibiting businesses from gouging customers during emergencies, including "a crisis influx of migrants unmanageable by a county." But the state also requires notaries to translate documents for those who don't speak English, even as Kansas and a number of local jurisdictions this year made English their official language. In Pahrump, Nevada, it's illegal to fly a foreign flag unless the American flag is flying alongside it.

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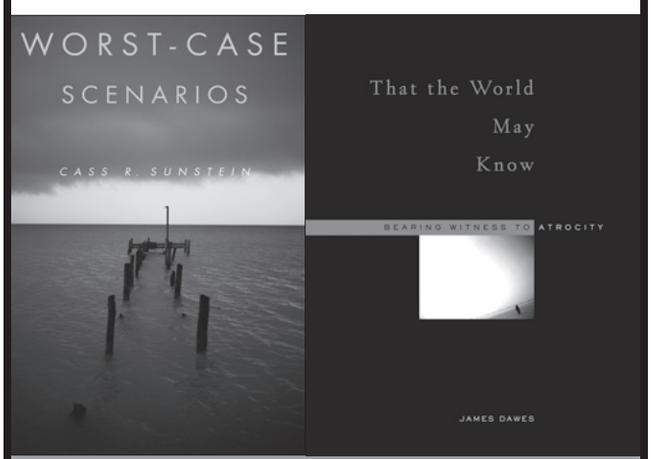

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Yet anyone looking for simple red state–blue state patterns is likely to be frustrated. Eight states—Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, South Carolina, Montana, Idaho and Nevada, among them some of the most conservative in the country—have called for the repeal or deferral of the federal Real ID Act of 2005, which, beginning next May, will start to impose a set of stringent verification requirements for issuing driver's licenses and other state identification documents. Some have pledged not to comply. The issue here is not liberal principle but cost and the expected aggravation of motorists (which would obviously be directed at state bureaucrats and politicians, not at Congress) once the rubber meets the road at the state DMV.

And then there's Littleton, Colorado, an upscale Denver suburb with a growing Latino population, where the foundation-supported Littleton Immigrant Integration Initiative (LI3), housed in a city library, offers counseling on healthcare and countless other matters, citizenship tutoring and English-language training to all comers, regardless of documentation. Littleton sits in the heart of the district represented by Tom Tancredo, the Republican (and presidential candidate) who's probably the most rabid foe of illegal immigration in Congress. Alejandra Harguth, who directs the program, says she's rarely gotten any criticism from the community, and none from Tancredo.

As immigrants move into areas that have rarely seen brown faces or heard Spanish spoken on the streets, the backlash spreads with them.

Meanwhile, in the uproar that's probably gotten the most recent attention, awkwardly amplified by Hillary Clinton's clumsy handling of the issue in the Democrats' October 30 debate, New York Governor Eliot Spitzer, citing public safety considerations, moved to grant driver's licenses to illegal residents. But he was quickly forced—in part by pressure from Washington, in part by upstate backlash—first to modify the policy and then to abandon it altogether. Of all the issues concerning illegal immigrants, giving them driver's licenses (as de facto national ID cards) is far and away the one that generates the fiercest resistance. Even strong backers of legalization concede that this isn't the issue they want to fight about.

If there is any geography here, it's the geography of the immigrant dispersion itself. As more immigrants, Latino immigrants particularly, either move from or bypass the traditional immigrant states—California, Florida, Texas, New Mexico—and move into the Midwest and Southeast, where residents have rarely seen brown faces or heard Spanish spoken on the streets and in the malls, the backlash spreads with them. In many places, the new immigrants, stretched to pay for housing, live three or four to a room—often a total of ten or twelve people or more, with junk cars crowding driveways—in houses or condos designed for families of four. And of course, there are the new kids in the schools, many speaking little English and requiring additional services, crowding classrooms that were all-white a few years before. Illegal immigration, the Escondido city council determined, "diminishes our overall quality of life." Illegal immigration in such contexts, of course, always means Latinos. But there are also towns in California's Central Valley and in the Midwest that would die without those immigrants.

California, where 27 percent of residents are foreign-born, and which endured an intense anti-immigrant backlash in the early 1990s, appears to have become accustomed to its brown and Asian faces and to the countless accents and languages of its residents—and of course has assimilated their cuisine, music and art. (Recent Census data indicate that 70 percent of California's "Mexicans" are US citizens.) Its population is now majority-minority; in another generation it will have an absolute Hispanic majority. Many parts of Iowa, South Carolina, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Virginia, Georgia and Missouri are just starting on that route.

More than anything else, the crazy quilt of contradictory local responses seems to reflect the nation's own ambivalence about immigration. California denies driver's licenses to undocumented residents but grants them in-state college tuition if they attended California high schools. Three years ago Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger lauded the Minutemen, the self-appointed enforcers of a tight border, for doing "a terrific job," and he's vetoed bills passed by the Democratic legislature that would have made undocumented residents eligible for driver's licenses. But in October he signed a bill that prohibits cities from requiring landlords to check whether tenants are here legally.

The polls confirm the ambivalence: 69 percent of adults believe the illegal resident population should be reduced and (by 76 percent) should not be allowed to get driver's licenses. But 43 percent also say that when illegal aliens who've committed no crime encounter local cops, they shouldn't be arrested. By a margin of 58 to 35 they support "a program giving illegal immigrants now living in the United States the right to live here legally if they pay a fine and meet other requirements." By 66 to 33 they say they're not bothered when they encounter Spanish speakers. Some 45 percent (in an earlier poll) say immigration is a good thing; 19 percent, a bad thing; some 33 percent have no opinion.

But as with issues like gun control, the intensity of an opposition—in this case fueled by economic insecurity and fanned by radio and TV talkers—tends to overwhelm the pressure from the broader but generally passive pro-legalization plurality. Illegal immigration is the hot-button issue not only for the national talkers and bloggers, from Ann Coulter to Lou Dobbs to Rush Limbaugh, but for local and regional talk-radio hosts as well—Roger Hedgecock in San Diego, Armstrong Williams in New York, Terry Anderson in Los Angeles, Melanie Morgan in San Francisco, Martha Zoller in Gainesville, Georgia, Dom Giardano in Philadelphia and a score of others. Last April, having organized themselves into a quasi lobby called Let's Hold Their Feet to the Fire, thirty-four of them brought their microphones and some of their listeners to Washington, broadcasting to their home audiences, urging anti-immigration e-mails and faxes and working Congressional offices to head off comprehensive immigration reform. Anything that might lead

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Edward B. Burger is Professor of Mathematics in the Department of Mathematics and Statistics at Williams College. He earned a B.A. with distinction in Mathematics from Connecticut College (summa cum laude) and his Ph.D. in Mathematics from The University of Texas at Austin. He is the recipient of numerous honors, including the prestigious Chauvenet Prize presented by the Mathematical Association of America, and a variety of teaching awards.

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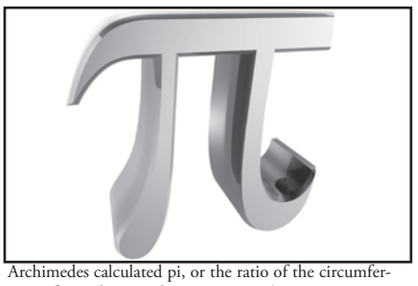

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Archimedes calculated pi, or the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, as 3.1418.

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to legalization was "amnesty." In its own survey, the nonpartisan Project for Excellence in Journalism gives Limbaugh et al. a big share of the credit for killing the immigration bill.

That bill, vulnerable on the right and left on any number of points, was an easy target for oversimplification. But the talkers also played a central role in stopping the appealing DREAM Act, a bipartisan bill—its sponsors included Democrat Dick Durbin of Illinois and Republicans Richard Lugar of Indiana and Chuck Hagel of Nebraska—that would have provided a path to legalization for some 365,000 undocumented students who were brought here by their parents as young children, attended and graduated from high school and intended to go to college or serve in the military. No one could claim that they were lawbreakers. Many never knew their native countries and don't speak the language, and few have any interest in going back. At a time when the imminent retirement of millions of baby boomers is predicted to leave major shortages of skilled workers and when the nation has already invested billions in their education, deporting them seemed as self-defeating as it was cruel. But none of that reduced the intense pressure on a Senate minority—nearly all Republicans—to kill the bill with a threatened filibuster.

In another generation the nation may look back on this period as another of those eras, like the Red Scare, when the nation became unhinged.

It is probably also the talkers and their angry listeners who, as much as anyone, have gotten much of the GOP, including its leading presidential candidates, to replay the anti-immigrant wedge strategy that former California Governor Pete Wilson deployed in his 1994 re-election campaign, when he supported an initiative to deny most services, including schooling, to undocumented immigrants. But other Republicans are tearing their hair. "Some in the party seem pleased," said former Bush speechwriter Michael Gerson. "They should be terrified."

What Gerson and other savvy Republicans know is that in California, Wilson's party paid a fearful price. Feeling vulnerable as aliens, a million California Latinos became citizens and, in the vast majority of cases, registered as Democrats in the years after 1994. Republicans have won little in California since. Something similar seems likely to happen nationally. At the same time, it is an unfortunate reality that, as Harvard economist Alberto Alesina and others have argued, the greater the ethnic diversity in a jurisdiction—and the larger the number of undocumented immigrants—the more reluctant are voters, who are still overwhelmingly non-Hispanic whites, to tax themselves for public services that they see going to "others."

Nonetheless, given the nation's high rate of demographic change and the rapidly growing proportion of Latino voters that will come with it, the GOP strategy is a bet on the past (and, perhaps, the present), not the future. Karl Rove and George Bush understood the stakes and, in pushing for reform that included a path to legalization and thus drew Hispanic voters, tried to put their chips on the other square. But after the immigration bill failed, the White House switched sides, cranking up its roundups and coming out against the DREAM Act. Meanwhile, the GOP presidential candidates seem certain that within the horizon of this election—or at least the primaries—illegal immigration, touching on all manner of economic and cultural anxieties, may be the best issue they have. And Democrats like Hillary Clinton are running for cover.

There are some 12 million undocumented immigrants in this country, many in mixed families that include citizens—including US-born children—and other legal residents. The history of the past two decades indicates, according to most research, that rather than holding down the undocumented population, tougher border enforcement—more Border Patrol agents, more walls, more electronic sensors—has dramatically increased it. As enforcement made it ever more dangerous and expensive to cross the Mexican border, many workers who once shuttled back and forth chose to remain in the United States and send for their families.

In the long run, argues Robert Pastor, director of the Center for North American Studies at American University, the most promising strategy depends on major investments in the Mexican economy and infrastructure (which would probably require basic political and economic reforms) and the creation of better opportunities there. In addition, the larger picture will be dramatically affected by two significant demographic trends: first, the sharply declining Mexican birthrate—down from 6.8 babies per woman in 1970 to 2.4 today—and the predicted concomitant decline in Mexico's surplus labor force; second, the millions of skilled US boomers retiring in the next decade. If voters begin to understand that sustaining and growing the US economy and securing the retirements of those boomers will depend in large part on the labor and skills of immigrants—and that there is no one else—the issue may fade as quickly as it arose. What's certain is that the faster the illegal immigrants who are already here can emerge from the shadows, the faster they can be trained to do those jobs. In another generation Americans may wish for more immigrant workers, not fewer.

At that point the nation may look back on this period as another of those eras, like the Red Scare of the 1920s or the McCarthy years of the '50s, when the nation became unhinged; politicians panicked; and scattershot federal, state and local assaults led to unfocused, and often cruel, harassment. It may be seen in retrospect as a desperate rearguard attempt to freeze Anglo-white places and power in a mythic past. But today's policy vacuum also stems from our collective uncertainty. A new society with new kinds of people and new voters is rapidly growing under and around us—just as it grew under our great-grandparents a century ago. Many of us still have no idea how to deal with it. At a time when other economic and social certainties are evaporating, and when income gaps are growing obscenely, demagogues have room to play. If there's a recession, the backlash against not only illegal immigrants but all immigrants could get worse before it gets better. The hope is that the nation will somehow choose leaders committed to cooling those tensions, not fueling them. ■

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'THE MOST LUCID theorists of American imperialism are fully conscious that US primacy and a worldwide liberal civilization are not logically interdependent. They contemplate, calmly and explicitly, the passing of the first as soon as it has accomplished its mission of securing the second. Then even superiority of power—all too predictable one day for China—can be gracefully conceded, in the assurance of similarity of being.' **Perry Anderson, NLR 48**

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About Facebook

As the old concept of privacy fades and a new one arises online, what is being lost?

by ARI MELBER

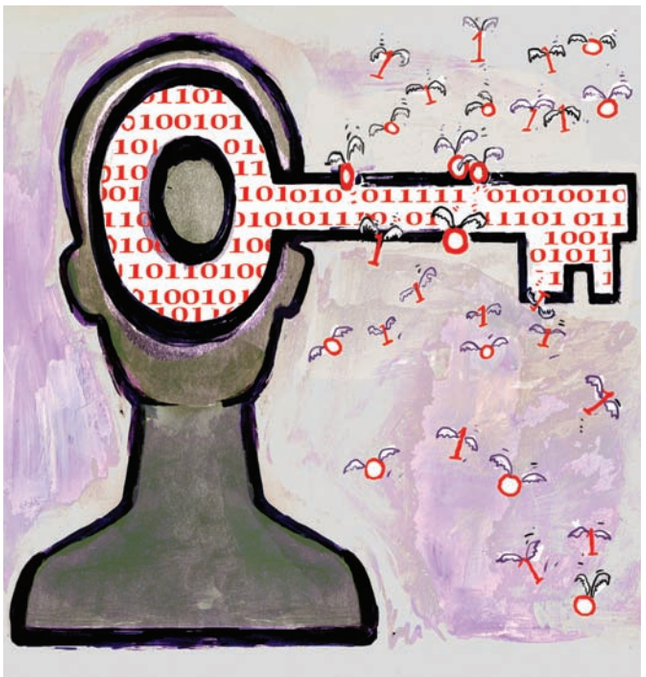
When one of America's largest electronic surveillance systems was launched in Palo Alto a year ago, it sparked an immediate national uproar. The new system tracked roughly 9 million Americans, broadcasting their photographs and personal information on the Internet; 700,000 web-savvy young people organized online protests in just days. *Time* declared it "Gen Y's first official revolution," while a *Nation* blogger lauded students for taking privacy activism to "a mass scale." Yet today, the activism has waned, and the surveillance continues largely unabated.

Generation Y's "revolution" failed partly because young people were getting what they signed up for. All the protesters were members of Facebook, a popular social networking site, which had designed a sweeping "news feed" program to disseminate personal information that users post on their web profiles. Suddenly everything people posted, from photos to their relationship status, was sent to hundreds of other users in a feed of time-stamped updates. People complained that the new system violated their privacy. Facebook argued that it was merely distributing information users had already revealed. The battle—and Facebook's growing market dominance in the past year—show how social networking sites are rupturing the traditional conception of privacy and priming a new generation for complacency in a surveillance society. Users can complain, but the information keeps flowing.

Facebook users did not recognize how vulnerable their information was within the site's architecture. The initial protests drew an impressive 8 percent of users, but they quickly subsided after Facebook provided more privacy options. Today the feed is the site's nerve center. Chris Kelly, Facebook's chief privacy officer, said that when he speaks on campuses these days, students approach him to say that while they initially "hated" the feed, now they "can't live without it."

Still, Facebook hit a similar privacy snag in November after it launched Beacon, a "social advertising" program that broadcast users' profile pictures and private activities as advertising bulletins. When a Facebook user bought a product on one of dozens of other websites, for example, the information was sent to Facebook and distributed across the user's network as a "personal" ad. ("Joe Johnson rented *Traffic* at Blockbuster," for example.) Many users had their pictures and actions morphed into advertisements without their consent, turning private commerce into public endorsements. That could be an illegal appropriation, according to Daniel Solove and William McGeveran, two law professors who specialize in digital privacy and who blogged about the issue.

Ari Melber (amelber@hotmail.com) is a regular contributor to The Nation, *focusing on American politics, public policy and Internet activism.*



KAREN CALDICOTT

MoveOn.org formed a Facebook group to demand that Beacon switch to "opt-in"—a default to protect uninformed users—and allow people to reject the program in one click. The group drew less than .2 percent of Facebook members, far less than during last year's feed protest, but this time MoveOn helped the protest group press specific reforms, generate critical media attention and even rattle some advertisers, who backtracked on using Beacon.

Facebook buckled, agreeing to make the ads opt-in and allowing people to reject the whole program, for now. Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg apologized to users on the company blog, explaining the problem in the language of the new privacy. "When we first thought of Beacon, our goal was to build a simple product to let people share information across sites with their friends," he wrote. "It had to be lightweight so it wouldn't get in people's way as they browsed the web, but also clear enough so people would be able to easily control what they shared."

Yet both Facebook and its privacy protesters largely operated within the same model of privacy *control*—opt-in versus opt-out, sharing versus concealing. The traditional concept of privacy was largely absent from the debate: the premise that what people do on other websites should never be anyone else's business. After all, why would people want to browse the web with "lightweight" surveillance broadcasting their pictures and supposed endorsements of products they happen to buy? And why do people continue to give pictures and personal information to a company that reserves the right to use their photos—and their very identities—to sell more advertising, products and market targeting in the future?

Growing up online, young people assume their inner circle knows their business. The "new privacy" is about controlling how many people know—not if anyone knows. "Information is not private because no one knows it; it is private because the knowing is limited and controlled," argues Danah Boyd, an anthropologist and social-networking expert at the University

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of California, Berkeley, who studied the feed controversy for a forthcoming article in the journal *Convergence*. Facebook's Kelly also contends that privacy is shifting from an "absolute right to be let alone" to an emphasis on control. "We don't think [users are] losing privacy as long as there's a control machine and access restrictions," he said in an interview.

The feed rankled because it plucked personal details that previously existed in a social context, limited by visitors' interest in a person, and shattered any sense of concentric circles of control by broadcasting them across wider networks. (Students list hundreds of acquaintances as "Facebook friends," assuming that people they barely know don't check their profiles often.) Boyd compares it to yelling over loud music at a bar, only to find the music has stopped and everyone is staring at you.

Neither controversy has slowed Facebook's huge growth. It quadrupled its user base over the past year and is now the most popular website among Americans age 17 to 25. Facebook has achieved near total penetration of the college market, with more than eight out of ten college students registered. Older Americans are also flocking to the site: it draws 250,000 new members every day. Overall, it is the fifth most popular site in the country, ranking just behind YouTube. Young and old use it to divulge loads of personal information, often oblivious to the ramifications and ignorant of the basic features of the technology they use so effortlessly to socialize.

One study at the University of North Carolina, for example, found more than 60 percent of Facebook users posted their political views, relationship status, personal picture, interests and address. People also post a whopping 14 million personal photos every single day, making Facebook the top photo website in the country. Then users diligently label one another in these pictures, enabling visitors to see every photo anyone has ever posted of other people, regardless of their consent or knowledge. Even if users terminate their membership, pictures of them posted by others remain online. But users can't really quit, anyway.

Like guests at the Hotel California, people who check out of Facebook have a hard time leaving. Profiles of former members are preserved in case people want to reactivate their accounts. And all users' digital selves can outlive their creators. As the company's "terms of use" explain, profiles of deceased members are kept "active under a special memorialized status for a period of time determined by us to allow other users to post and view comments."

Facebook's 58 million active members have posted more than 2.7 billion photos, with more than 2.2 billion digital labels of people in the pictures. But what many users may not realize is that the company owns every photo. In fact, everything that people post is automatically licensed to Facebook for its perpetual and transferable use, distribution or public display. The terms of use reserve the right to grant and sublicense all "user content" posted on the site to other businesses. Facebook, a privately held company, rejected a buyout offer from Yahoo! last year and recently sold a 1.6 percent stake to Microsoft, which values the company at up to $15 billion. (Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation bought MySpace, the other leading social network site, for $580 million in 2005.)

Yet the same young people posting all this personal information and relinquishing their photos to corporate control still say they value privacy. A Carnegie Mellon study found that students on Facebook think privacy policy is a "highly important issue," ranking above terrorism, and many would be very concerned if a stranger knew their class schedule or could find out their political views five years from now. Of the students who expressed the highest possible concern about protecting their class schedule, however, 40 percent still posted it on Facebook, and 47 percent of those concerned about political views still provided them. The study concluded there was "little or no relation between participants' reported privacy attitudes and their likelihood of providing certain information."

Why would young people publicize the very information they want to keep private?

Critics argue that privacy does not matter to children who were raised in a wired celebrity culture that promises a niche audience for everyone. Why hide when you can perform? But even if young people are performing, many are clueless about the size of their audience. That's because the new generation is often proficient with technology it doesn't fully understand. The Carnegie Mellon study found that one-third of students don't realize that it is easy for nonstudents to access their Facebook profiles. And 30 percent of students did not even know they had an option to limit access to their profile.

Even if young people are performing, many are clueless about their audience. They are proficient with technology they don't fully understand.

Most people don't use the privacy settings to limit access to their Facebook profile. Four out of five simply accept the default setting, which allows their whole network to see the entire profile. In the UCLA network, that's 50,400 people. The Boston network has 312,404 people. For comparison, the city's tabloid, the *Boston Herald*, has a circulation of 201,503. Users may think they're only sharing with the friends they can see, but they're actually publishing with the reach of a newspaper.

Social networking sites also induce users to disclose information in order to be part of the site's culture. "Allowing users into your circle allows them to track your moves on Facebook and vice versa," explains technology writer Michael Hirschorn. "Even more compellingly, it allows you to track, if you wish, their interactions with other users, all from your own user page. You can play with your privacy settings to prevent this, but as you become acculturated to the site, you realize that you have to give information to get information."

Facebook's Kelly argues that the trend is broader than a single website. People know their actions are tracked online, he says, just as they're tracked on streets filled with surveillance cameras, "whether privately controlled through an ATM or publicly controlled [for] legitimate anticrime or anti-terrorism purposes." In an era of massive top-down surveillance, posting information on a website may feel downright redundant. Just as most consumers have acquiesced to companies collecting loads of data and private information about them, many

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Facebook users seem resigned to the company's aggressive use of private information.

In September Facebook launched a "public search" feature to list users' profiles on search engines like Yahoo! and Google. The move could fundamentally shift the site from a (relatively) closed social network to a more exposed public directory. Students originally joined Facebook as a private campus hub, but now it touts some of their profile information to the world. (Diligent users can opt out, and visitors still need to be Facebook members to view people within networks.) The massive search function might one day make Facebook an indispensable part of Internet commerce—creating the "Google of people," as blogger Jeff Jarvis puts it. The potential loss of privacy could ultimately beat the feed controversy by several orders of magnitude, but there has been no backlash so far.

Ultimately, these privacy concerns do not turn on the decisions of one social networking company like Facebook, or what its future owners may do. The architecture of these sites already facilitates all kinds of surveillance of unsuspecting users by the public. Employers check Facebook to vet job applicants, for example, and some have advised users to change their profiles or photos during the application process, as the *Stanford Daily* reported last year. A 2005 survey found that one out of four employers has rejected applicants based on research via search engines. Campus police increasingly review social networking sites to investigate crimes. Arkansas's John Brown University expelled a student after administrators discovered Facebook pictures of him dressed in drag last year, a violation of the school's Christian conduct code. And a Secret Service officer paid a dorm visit to University of Oklahoma sophomore Saul Martinez based on a comment he posted on the Facebook group Bush Sucks.

Even if this generation of Internet users is truly developing a "new privacy" concept that prioritizes nuanced control, they largely fail on their own terms. Most users do not exercise any real authority over their information; they accept default exposure settings, post to huge networks and transfer ownership of their social media productions to entertainment businesses. Thus "control" devolves to the thousands of people in their networks and the business models of ambitious companies. The entire social network ecosystem, with its detailed records, pictures and videos of formative years, can completely change on a company's whim. Most users are left relying on the kindness of strangers and the benevolence of business.

A simple way to address one of Facebook's privacy problems is to ensure that users can make informed choices. Taking a page from the consumer protection movement, Congress could simply require social networking sites to display their broadcasting reach prominently when new users post information. Just as the government requires standardized nutrition labels on packaged food, a privacy label would reveal the "ingredients" of social networking. For example, the label might tell users: "The photos you are about to post will become Facebook's property and be visible to 150,000 people—click here to control your privacy settings."

This disclosure requirement would push Facebook to catch up with its customers. After all, users disclose tons of information about themselves. Why shouldn't the company open up a bit, too?

Facebook's invisible audiences should also stop hiding. Responsible institutions that choose to monitor users (and minors) on the site, such as schools and employers, have a special obligation to inform users and parents of the practice.

In the end, social networking sites are wildly popular precisely because they disseminate information so effectively. Posting to a network is easier than e-mailing individuals, and usually more fun. One bright side is that these sites' popularity dispels the recurring complaint that the web is merely an incubator for like-minded people to isolate themselves, associating only with the people and ideas that confirm their beliefs. Young people are doing just the opposite. Their favorite websites are about real people in the real world—not just their like-minded best friends but hundreds of acquaintances from different facets of their lives.

The problem, of course, is that playing with reality online is riskier than playing with video games and anonymous screen names. Young people are recording their lives in minute detail, enabling unprecedented experiences, exposure and evidence that will outlast their youth. Social networking is a free service, but abdicating control of personal information, photos, writing, videos and memories seems like a high price to pay. ■

Letters

(continued from page 2)

County, where he grew up; my mother, the third grade. During FDR's first term, my father had a change of mind and heart and thereafter idolized Roosevelt. FDR spoke for the little guy, he would tell me. When Roosevelt died in 1944, our whole neighborhood went into mourning. I have rarely seen my father so distraught. My father taught me the dangers of an oligarchy of the rich ruling the country, and I have never forgotten the lesson. He was right, and still is today.

James A. Sanders

Unlicensed, Uninsured & on the Road

San Antonio, Tex.

"Showdown at the DMV" [Dec. 10] might have mentioned that in his repeated attacks on New York's Governor Spitzer, Lou Dobbs constantly used the term "give away" driver's licenses to undocumented workers. Dobbs was not only arguing that they should not be allowed to get driver's licenses but implying that Spitzer intended to award the licenses gratis, without the required tests. It was journalistic dishonesty at its ugliest.

Tom Walker

Far Rockaway, N.Y.

I live in Queens. I have had no accidents, no tickets, no claims and carry no collision insurance—yet I pay $1,400 a year for auto insurance. Any illegal who did obtain a driver's license would have no driving record, so the insurance companies would make him an assigned risk and charge several thousand dollars a year for minimum coverage. If these immigrants are doing menial jobs (the ones no American will do), how could they afford auto insurance?

Joseph Passaretti

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Books & the Arts.

DOUG CHAYKA

Western Promises

by MARC PERELMAN

If you saw the grainy footage of Saddam Hussein being brutally hanged on December 30, 2006, amid the taunts of his political enemies, "international justice" is probably not the first thought that came to mind. "Tribal vendetta" is a more likely guess. More than sixty years ago, the need to avoid vendettas was one of the factors behind the establishment of an international military tribunal at Nuremberg to judge Nazis accused of war crimes. The Nuremberg tribunal has since served as a model of sorts for the handful of international tribunals created by the United Nations in the past two decades to judge people accused of committing war crimes in Cambodia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. In July 2002 the International Criminal Court, a permanent tribunal responsible for trying cases of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, opened its doors.

A few months earlier, Slobodan Milosevic had appeared before the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague on the charge of genocide, becoming the only former head of state to be tried for crimes against humanity by such a tribunal. He accused the court of being a tool of realpolitik wielded by major Western powers; Western officials have routinely dismissed such allegations as conspiracy theories. They will have a much harder time making that argument with Florence Hartmann, a former official at the ICTY, who in *Paix et châtiment: Les guerres secrètes de la politique et de la justice internationales* (Peace and Punishment: The Secret Wars of Politics and International Justice), published in September in France, describes how the ICTY has been hampered not only by the predictable obstruction of Balkan governments but also by the meddling hands of its main sponsors—France, Britain and the United States. Hartmann openly accuses them of sabotaging the court's work by infiltrating its personnel, withholding key evidence and failing to arrest two of its main indictees—Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic—for more than a decade.

Hartmann argues that France, Britain and the United States have obstructed the court in order to avert the public disclosure, during the course of a trial, of their failure to prevent the violent implosion of Yugoslavia and, more egregious, despite ominous warning signs, the July 1995 Serbian-led massacre of an estimated 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys in the town of Srebrenica. Hartmann's claim is not new, but her evidence is. As such, the book raises serious questions about whether Western leaders—including members of the Clinton Administration, who justified US intervention in the Bosnian war on humanitarian grounds (a justification invoked, in turn, by politicians and journalists of various politi-

Paix et châtiment
Les guerres secrètes de la politique et de la justice internationales.
By Florence Hartmann.
Flammarion. 320 pp. 19.90 euros.

Marc Perelman is the diplomatic correspondent of the Forward.

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cal stripes who backed the invasion of Iraq)—failed in their legal duty to prevent crimes against humanity. Hartmann's allegations of obstruction and sabotage are based on the UN-sponsored 1948 Convention on Genocide, which obliges all signatories (of which the United States is one) to do their utmost to prevent such crimes from occurring. A few months after Srebrenica, Karadzic, the political leader of the Bosnian Serbs, and Mladic, the commander of the Bosnian Serb Army, were indicted by the ICTY on charges of genocide for their role in the massacre. Milosevic was indicted on similar charges in 1999, and the ICTY formally declared Srebrenica a genocide in a 2001 ruling.

Hartmann is a former reporter for *Le Monde*, France's newspaper of record, and the author of a noted biography of Milosevic. She worked from 2000 to 2006 as a spokesperson for Carla Del Ponte, the chief prosecutor of the ICTY. *Paix et châtiment* provides a vivid insider's account of realpolitik at the ICTY based on notes and documents Hartmann accumulated during her stint in Del Ponte's office, where she also served as her adviser on the Balkans. The book has received broad and positive coverage in France, and it kicked off a storm in the Balkans even before translations appeared in bookstores there in early November, with local politicians using it to attack the ICTY's legitimacy. When Hartmann and I talked in Paris in October, she told me she had not consulted with her former boss about her book. (For her part, Del Ponte said through her spokesperson Olga Kavran that she found the book "interesting.") Hartmann's salvo is certainly a preview of the memoir Del Ponte has already announced she will write after her eight-year tenure ends on December 31. To write her book, Hartmann flouted the tribunal's confidentiality rules, which forbid current and former employees from disclosing information ruled confidential by the court or its chief prosecutor. She risks being cited for contempt of court and, if found guilty, imprisoned for up to seven years for breaching those rules.

Hartmann decided to take such a daring step because she fervently believes that the newest incarnation of the principle of international justice, the International Criminal Court, needs to draw lessons from the ICTY and other UN international courts to fulfill its promise. "The will to reaffirm the rule of law and to castigate criminals that has expressed itself for the last decade through the multiplication of judicial organs has not managed to chase away old habits" whereby governments privilege their national interests over international justice, she writes.

Hartmann offers a vivid insider's account of realpolitik during the trial of Milosevic at The Hague.

The war that broke out in Yugoslavia in 1991 pitted the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, dominated by the former Communist turned Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic, against independence movements in several of the federation's regions—Bosnia, Slovenia and Croatia. Milosevic sought to assert Serbian control over those territories by offering political and military support to their Serb minorities. In 1992, after a brief conflict with Slovenia in July of the previous year, and as fighting in Croatia was raging, multiethnic Bosnia became the main theater of Milosevic's pan-Serbian ambitions, and its Muslim population became the main target of Serbian firepower. After three years of ineffectual UN and NATO intervention to stop the bloodshed orchestrated by Milosevic and his henchmen Karadzic and Mladic, and following the fall of Srebrenica, the international community mustered a more robust military response. It also launched a US-led diplomatic effort that culminated in the negotiation of a peace deal in November 1995 in Dayton, Ohio. The Dayton Accords created two similarly sized autonomous entities in Bosnia—a Muslim-Croat federation and a Bosnian Serb republic—under close international supervision. A shaky peace has held for the past decade (events in Kosovo notwithstanding), but it has come at the expense of the new justice standards that the international community had championed in the face of the atrocities committed in the region.

When the UN Security Council established the ICTY on May 25, 1993, it marked the first time an international court was granted such wide-ranging powers: concurrent jurisdiction to prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia since 1991; a powerful chief prosecutor; and the obligation of all UN member states to collaborate with the tribunal. The reason for this sweeping mandate was simple and cynical: the court was never supposed to be used. It was a prop meant to quell the public outcry prompted by reports in August 1992 by *Newsday*'s Roy Gutman and the *Guardian*'s Ed Vulliamy of starving Bosnian Muslim and Croat prisoners being held in the Serb-run detention camps of Omarska and Trnopolje in northern Bosnia. The ICTY was "widely viewed as little more than a public relations device," as Richard Holbrooke, who would become the chief US diplomat in the region in 1995 and lead the effort to reach the Dayton Accords, put it in his 1998 memoir *To End a War*. But the prop became the stage of real political drama for the ICTY's main sponsors once the court became an obstacle to the Dayton negotiations. Milosevic, one of the ICTY's prime targets, was also "the key to the peace, the one who would sign the Dayton accords in November 1995, putting an end to three and a half years of war and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina," Hartmann writes. As a result, the evidence of his role in coordinating the war crimes in Bosnia, primarily the infamous massacre in Srebrenica, had to be kept from the public, Hartmann says.

Milosevic did end up in the dock at the ICTY several months after he was toppled from power by a popular revolution in October 2000. Hartmann credits then–Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic for arranging Milosevic's transfer to The Hague in June 2001. While Pierre Richard Prosper, who was US ambassador at large in charge of war crimes from 2001 to 2005, told me that the United States worked feverishly to achieve such an outcome, Arnaud Danjean, a former French intelligence analyst who was in charge of tracking Yugoslav war criminals from 1996 to 1998, is adamant that "Djindjic and Djindjic alone pulled it off," adding that his efforts to hand over other war criminals, especially Mladic, are the main reason Djindjic was assassinated by Serb nationalists in March 2003.

Hartmann claims that the court's proceedings—primarily Milosevic's trial, which was ended by his death in March 2006—were obstructed by secretive manipulations of and within the ICTY. For instance, she explains the crucial role of the so-called Military Analyst Team (MAT), which the tribunal's investigators had to rely on to determine crucial details about military command-and-control issues. Hartmann charges that the MAT, largely staffed with US and British analysts, promoted the notion that Karadzic and Mladic acted on their own in Bosnia rather than on Milosevic's orders and doggedly excluded the possibility that special forces from Serbia participated in the Srebrenica killings. The MAT's assessment had a major impact on the Milosevic prosecution and was overcome only when the ICTY obtained minutes of key meetings of the Serbian leadership in

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early 2004 and, most vividly, when footage of the slaying of six Srebrenica men by members of a Serb paramilitary group became available in 2005.

Hartmann asserts that up to that point, Sir Geoffrey Nice, the British head of the Milosevic prosecution team, had tried repeatedly to throw out the gravest charges against the Serbian strongman, such as the genocide count; the Srebrenica massacre; and the siege of Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital. But Del Ponte held firm. "We were that close, really that close, to having an indictment against Milosevic without those three key elements," Hartmann told me, adding that she had threatened to resign at the time. Hartmann—whose 1999 biography

Hartmann points to the Kula Tape as a sign that the US hasn't fully cooperated with the ICTY.

Milosevic: La diagonale du fou (Milosevic: The Madman's Diagonal) documents the Serbian leader's overall control of Serbian underlings in Croatia and Bosnia—says she can understand why the allegations about Serbian special forces would have been treated skeptically by typically cautious legal minds. "But once the evidence to the contrary started to accumulate and they continued to fight against it, it became troubling," she adds. "Those who were pushing this had orders, and their attitudes hewed to the position of their respective countries."

Since the publication of *Paix et châtiment*, Hartmann and Nice have exchanged angry letters in French and Balkan newspapers. As I discovered, the bad blood between the former colleagues in the prosecutor's office runs deep. Nice has claimed that Hartmann was not privy to all key meetings, and the former spokeswoman has countered that as a member of Del Ponte's cabinet and as her Balkans adviser, she was intimately familiar with the ICTY's decision-making process. "This is a pre-emptive attack on behalf of Del Ponte in order to forestall the criticism of her job that will inevitably come out once she steps down," Nice told me.

Both Nice and Hartmann left the ICTY in the spring of 2006, but for different reasons. He departed after the death of Milosevic, while she was forced out for unclear reasons. She claims it was because of her criticism of the international community's tepid efforts to arrest Mladic and Karadzic. Del Ponte's office merely stated that she left at the end of her contract. One can argue that such internal disputes are unavoidable in an international bureaucracy—and bound to come out once the main protagonists have left office. And it's not as though Hartmann's book is flawless. Her obvious dislike of Milosevic and her grudges against former colleagues such as Nice sometimes color her judgment and even her accuracy. For instance, she describes an ICTY judge as having previously served as both US ambassador to Israel and Israeli ambassador to the United States. He was neither. Nevertheless, when Hartmann sticks to the facts and relies on her prime access to key meetings and documents to reveal the inner workings of the court and the interactions of its chief prosecutor with Western officials, her claims about how these officials tried to conceal evidence from the ICTY are shocking. "What she provides is the proof that the court was in effect managed by Western powers," says Diego Arria, who was Venezuela's ambassador to the UN and was instrumental in setting up the tribunal. "I find it scandalous."

According to Article 29 of the ICTY's statutes, all states have an obligation to cooperate fully with the court and answer without delay any request for assistance, including requests for evidence, witnesses and aid in the arrest of indicted individuals. While Balkan countries, Serbia especially, have often ignored Article 29, there are troubling indications that Western countries, including the United States, have done the same. One especially galling incident involves the so-called Kula Tape, a video from May 1997 showing Milosevic and key Serbian leaders participating in a ceremony marking the sixth anniversary of the Red Berets, a unit of Serbian special forces created on the eve of the Yugoslav wars. As Hartmann told me, a transcript of the tape was provided to the tribunal in late 2001. It was riddled with "inaudible" mentions and mostly unrecognizable names. However, when the prosecutors received the original footage a year later, they discovered that the names were, in fact, perfectly clear and that "inaudible" passages contained descriptions of the wartime "accomplishments" of the Red Berets in Croatia and Bosnia, and also identified Milosevic as their godfather. Hartmann describes the video as a treasure trove because it contains the names of key personalities of the Milosevic network. The tape was eventually presented in court in February 2003, leading to the dismantling of the Red Berets a few weeks later in Serbia after the tape was broadcast on television there. Hartmann does not identify the source of the translated tape in her book. When I pressed her, she told me that the country involved in the translation was the United States.

It seems, then, that the Kula Tape was sent by the US Embassy in Belgrade to Washington in 2001 and only ended up in The Hague in late 2002, Hartmann told me. In the meantime, the United States provided the ICTY with a truncated transcript of the tape that concealed its most important information. Pierre Richard Prosper told me the United States was not the originator of the tape, although he conceded having limited knowledge of the incident. According to Nice, a member of the prosecution team failed to grasp the importance of the tape, and then a colleague realized its value. "There might have been a bad translation at some point, but there is absolutely no reason to believe the providing source didn't want to help us out," he says.

While Hartmann and Nice squarely disagree in their accounts of the tribunal's internal dynamics, they reach similar conclusions about the role of Western powers, especially the United States, in the war's seminal event: the killings in Srebrenica in July 1995. In the spring of that year, negotiations between Milosevic and Western officials over the shape of Bosnia were reaching a turning point. While there was general agreement to divide the country into two autonomous entities, the outlines of the map were still in dispute. The main point of contention was three Muslim enclaves—Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde—nestled in the midst of Bosnian Serb territory. In 1993 they had been designated by the UN as "safe areas" to protect them from Mladic's army. But in July 1995 Mladic and Karadzic decided to force the issue by launching a major offensive against the enclaves, starting with Srebrenica. The story of how the city was overrun and several thousand inhabitants were executed as UN peacekeepers watched helplessly has been recounted many times, most grippingly by David Rohde, an American reporter who first uncovered evidence of the massacre and whose *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica* (1997) describes the event through the eyes of seven witnesses. Rohde concluded that the litany of mistakes that led to the massacre was a "passive conspiracy" rather than a cynical backroom deal.

While acknowledging their failure to prevent Srebrenica—which was documented in

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French and Dutch parliamentary reports published in November 2001 and April 2002, respectively—UN, NATO and Western officials have always claimed they never imagined that the Bosnian Serb takeover of the city would result in the worst massacre on European soil since World War II. And they have consistently rejected the accusation that they purposely allowed the Bosnian Serb takeover of Srebrenica and, a few days later, Zepa in order to negotiate the release of dozens of UN troops being held hostage by Bosnian Serbs or to facilitate the peace agreement that was reached four months later in Dayton. Western officials have stressed that major powers actually prevented Mladic from taking over Gorazde.

In recent years, that official version of history has come under scrutiny. In *Srebrenica: Un génocide annoncé* (Srebrenica: A Genocide Foretold), a book published in France on the tenth anniversary of the massacre, French writer Sylvie Matton offers some fresh acknowledgments by senior European political and military officials—mostly French—that the tragic fate of the enclave was no mystery. The most vivid acknowledgment is provided by Alain Juppé, who was prime minister of France at the time of the Srebrenica massacre. "It was widely known that the Serbs wanted to take the enclaves and annihilate the men," Juppé told Matton, who then asked Juppé what he meant by "annihilate." "Let's say we knew they would take no prisoners," he answered.

In a November 2005 interview on Bosnian television, Holbrooke, who at the time of Srebrenica was assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs and who later spearheaded the US mediation that led to the 1995 Dayton Accords, declared that his "initial instructions" were to "sacrifice Srebrenica, Gorazde and Zepa." His remarks went unnoticed for a year until Muhamed Sacirbey, who was the Bosnian foreign minister at the time, noticed them while watching a tape of the program. It was indeed a stunning reversal. Holbrooke had always said that the initial US policy during the summer of 1995 was to push the Bosnian Muslims to abandon only Gorazde—a policy he claims he successfully rejected, the proof being that the Bosnian Muslims never fled Gorazde while it was under siege. But in November 2005 he seemed to admit that the United States, in fact, envisioned sacrificing the three enclaves—which would have made it an accessory to the goals of the Bosnian Serbs.

Holbrooke told me he had misspoken in the television interview, and that the orders he received—and rejected—involved only Gorazde, thus returning to the original script. Sacirbey thinks a veteran diplomat like Holbrooke would be too savvy to make such a mistake, especially during a formal television interview taped on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the fall of Srebrenica. "I think he is in fact quietly dispersing blame in the face of mounting evidence of Western foreknowledge of Srebrenica," Sacirbey told me.

Hartmann is "convinced there was a deal between Western officials and Milosevic on the three enclaves reached in May 1995." Nice, ever the cautious lawyer, told me that "in light of the information we got and information we knew existed but that we were unable to get, I am left wondering whether the West knew and gave the Serbs an orange light to take over Srebrenica," adding that he had planned to raise the issue during the Milosevic trial before its abrupt ending. "Unfortunately, this will likely never be discussed in a court." Del Ponte's office said there was "no evidence that we were able to present in court that any 'Western powers' knew with certainty that genocide was about to be committed in Srebrenica."

They could be wrong. In November, families of Srebrenica victims learned that a complaint they had filed against the Netherlands and the UN could proceed after a court in The Hague dismissed pleas by public prosecutors that the case should be dropped after the UN invoked its legal immunity. The lawsuit, filed by the victims' families in July, argues that the Dutch were to blame for the massacre because they refused crucial air support to their own UN troops defending the Bosnian town.

At the Milosevic trial, the prosecution managed to get only one representative of the fifteen-member UN Security Council to testify: Arria, the former Venezuelan ambassador. "All the others refused because they lied when they said they didn't know about Srebrenica," he told me. In 1993 he conducted a fact-finding mission to Bosnia and then warned the Security Council that a slow-moving genocide was taking place in Srebrenica: "So you have in effect a cover-up that continues to this day."

The question of what and when the Western powers knew about the Srebrenica endgame is one that Del Ponte has been trying to probe, first and foremost by chasing down alleged US wiretaps of conversations between Belgrade and the Bosnian Serb leadership, especially during the pivotal summer of 1995. In January 2002, after her office obtained excerpts of such wiretaps from Croatia and received other indications of their existence, Del

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Ponte asked Washington for the transcripts or the actual recordings of the wiretaps. Three months later, the Dutch parliamentary report was published. In an appendix, it mentioned a White House meeting, without mentioning the date, between Vice President Al Gore and chief EU negotiator Carl Bildt. Citing an anonymous Western diplomat, the report claimed that after Bildt tried to convince Gore that Milosevic was a worthy peace partner, the Vice President responded by reading transcripts from US intercepts showing that Milosevic had consulted with Mladic about the attack on Srebrenica. Gore then reportedly told Bildt: "Forget about this. Milosevic is absolutely not the friend of the West." The prosecutor's office set out to learn more about the meeting. Hartmann provides new elements about that encounter, such as the date—early August 1995, a few weeks after the fall of Srebrenica—and the names of three other European participants: Alain Dejammet of France, Michael Steiner of Germany and Pauline Neville-Jones of Britain, all of whom represented the Contact Group, an informal diplomatic forum for Balkans-related issues.

Gore and Neville-Jones declined comment and Steiner did not respond to queries. Bildt, who is now Sweden's foreign minister, told me that all the participants have consistently claimed that the account about Gore reading the intercepts is incorrect. Dejammet seconded him, noting that Bildt is "someone who has a good memory." If so, then why have the US, French, British and German governments rejected Del Ponte's official request to testify about the meeting? Gore was willing to testify, but the Clinton Administration apparently barred him from doing so, according to Hartmann and Nice. And why has the United States refused to hand over the minutes of the Gore-Bildt encounter to Del Ponte's office? This meeting is important, Hartmann told me, not only because it proves the existence of the intercepts but also because it shows that Western countries knew Milosevic was the mastermind of the Srebrenica massacre at a time when they were negotiating with him.

Nice fully agrees about the importance of the intercepts and described to me his efforts to obtain them. But while he confirms that Western powers have rejected his entreaties, he claims that Del Ponte actually undermined him by withdrawing some of his requests. "She did this for some strange reason, and it ended up weakening our case against Milosevic," Nice told me. Del Ponte's office denies the assertions.

One of the difficulties faced by Western

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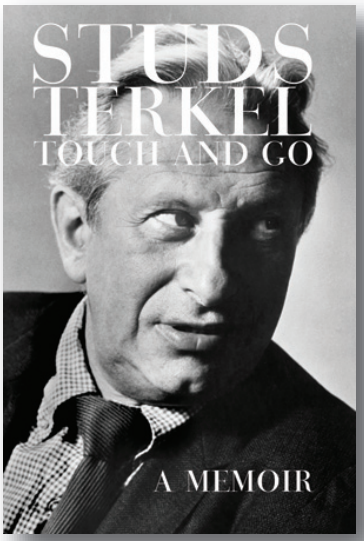

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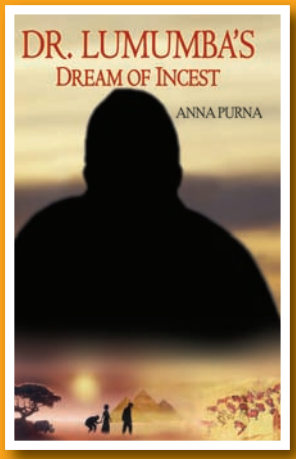

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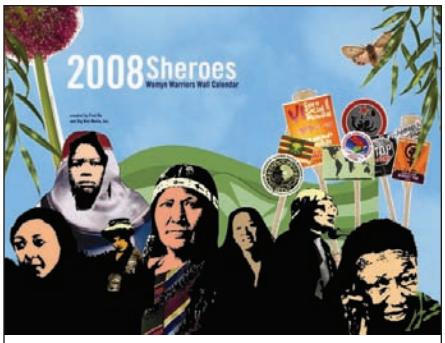

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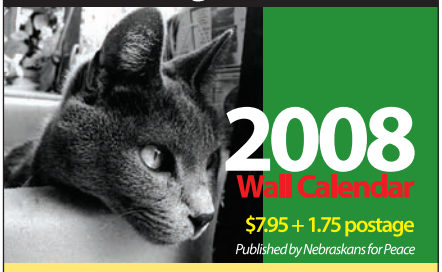

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diplomats in reaching a peace accord at Dayton was the decision of the first ICTY chief prosecutor to issue an indictment against Karadzic and Mladic in July 1995. As a result, the two could not attend the Dayton summit, and instead were represented there by Milosevic. Moreover, the ICTY prosecutor issued a fresh indictment against them for their role in Srebrenica on November 16, 1995, five days before the final accord was reached. But bringing them to the ICTY was a nonstarter in Dayton not only for Milosevic but also for the Pentagon, which resisted making their arrest a priority for the 60,000 NATO troops about to be deployed. Their mandate was to bring stability to the troubled region; undertaking arrest operations against those still-powerful figures was seen as risky—and thus was quietly put on hold, according to Holbrooke's memoirs. But as Karadzic actively opposed the implementation of the Dayton agreement, he became a threat to that stability. In turn, in July 1996 Holbrooke negotiated with Milosevic the end of Karadzic's reign as the head of the Serbian Democratic Party and a moratorium on his media appearances.

Since then, French and Bosnian officials have suspected Holbrooke of having conceded immunity from the ICTY to Karadzic and Mladic during the July 1996 negotiations. Karadzic's entourage has always claimed there was such a deal. US officials have, in turn, maintained that France actually made a secret pact with the Bosnian Serbs to win the release of two French pilots the Serbs held hostage in 1995. Hartmann admits there is no bulletproof evidence of an immunity deal involving Holbrooke; her strong belief that there was one prompted a Serb prosecutor to open a probe into the issue after her book was published. Holbrooke has always denied the existence of such a deal, although he explained in his memoirs that once his initial request that Karadzic leave Bosnia and comply with the ICTY was rejected by Milosevic, he did not push for it.

After Western media reported that the two war criminals were able to move freely around Bosnia, including through NATO checkpoints, a more serious effort to apprehend them was launched in 1997; this prompted Mladic to flee Bosnia for Serbia and Karadzic to vanish in Bosnian Serb areas and even in Belarus for a few months with the help of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, according to Hartmann. But once they vanished from public view, so did the urgency to arrest them. While Mladic is in Serbia, which has consistently dragged its feet in cooperating with the ICTY, Karadzic likely spends most of his time in Bosnia, where international peacekeepers have been on the ground for more than a decade. Hartmann claims the early concerns that Bosnia would relapse into civil war are long gone and that there is no justification for the tepid efforts conducted to nab Karadzic. The reason, she surmises, is that if Karadzic and Mladic were ever brought to The Hague, they would make their first line of defense the exposure of their interactions with Western officials, such as the top UN and NATO representatives, at the time they were perpetrating ethnic cleansing—first and foremost in Srebrenica.

Despite a series of attempts by Western and even ICTY emissaries to persuade Karadzic to surrender to The Hague and pledges of stepped-up efforts to catch him by intelligence services, Del Ponte began to harbor doubts about the major powers' commitment to their obligation. So in 2002 she decided to set up a small team to track down the fugitives. Hartmann recounts how those efforts were undermined on several occasions. On January 28, 2004, Del Ponte learned from a senior Serbian source that Karadzic was in Belgrade and that the local authorities had agreed to hand him over. The French were asked to help transfer him to The Hague, but the Americans intervened, claiming that the Serb official involved was drunk. The next day, according to Hartmann, Del Ponte warned US ambassador for war crimes Pierre Richard Prosper, "Find a way to get Karadzic and Mladic back. I don't want to know what happened yesterday because everyone is lying to me. But I want them both. Karadzic is still in Belgrade, and it's not too late to act." Prosper said he would consult with his government; two days later he called Del Ponte to inform her that he had obtained a green light from the Bush Administration to act on reliable information, Hartmann says. Seeing no action, Del Ponte decided on February 9 to tell the press that Karadzic was in Belgrade. US officials reacted furiously and interrupted all communications with her office for several weeks. Prosper forcefully denies that such a confrontation between him and Del Ponte or such a communications breakdown ever occurred. "Why would Del Ponte need me if the Serbs and the French were lined up?" he told me. Del Ponte would not comment.

Western officials have often portrayed the prosecutor as a stubborn, blunder-prone bully whose frequent outbursts undermined their quiet efforts to resolve war crimes issues. Nice describes her as "a combination of immature politician and ordi-

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nary cop." Prosper told me that Del Ponte's tips often proved erroneous, partly because her office was easy prey for tipsters working with a hidden agenda who would feed the office misinformation, an assertion supported by Arnaud Danjean, the former French intelligence analyst who was in charge of tracking Yugoslav war criminals. Danjean also disagrees with Hartmann's sweeping conclusion that the failures to prevent Srebrenica and to arrest Karadzic and Mladic are linked. "She conflates those two separate shames, and it just doesn't hold water," he told me.

But while Danjean admits there was never a strong political will to arrest Karadzic and Mladic, Prosper maintains that Washington undertook an all-out effort to do so during his tenure from 2001 to 2005. He stressed that "hard-core diplomacy" had prompted the region's governments, primarily Belgrade, to hand over some eighty indictees to the ICTY in recent years. This "hard-core diplomacy" involved conditioning foreign aid and future admission to NATO and the European Union on Mladic's handover. But those sticks were sweetened by an enticing carrot: the so-called "completion strategy" of the ICTY. In 2000 the Security Council decided that the tribunal would finish its initial trials at the end of 2008 and its appeals in 2010, the year it would shut its doors. As a practical matter, this has meant reducing the list of indictees and delegating the judgment of low-level officials to the relevant national jurisdictions. When Del Ponte reneged, Hartmann claims, US officials threatened to cut the tribunal's funding, denounced its corruption and, behind the scenes, worked to reduce the chief prosecutor's prerogatives.

In her last appearance as chief prosecutor before the Security Council on December 10, Del Ponte said it was "a stain on the international tribunal's work that two individuals indicted for genocide and responsible for the worst crimes committed in Europe since the Second World War are still fugitives." She also urged the council not to "close the door" on the court before Mladic and Karadzic are brought to justice.

When I asked Hartmann what shocked her most during her time in The Hague, she pointed to a series of obscure rulings by the ICTY judges that she discusses in her book. Those decisions pertain to the handling of a set of crucial documents: the wartime minutes of the Yugoslav Supreme Defense Council, which comprised the head of the Yugoslav federation, the presidents of Serbia and of Montenegro, as well as the army chief, and were in effect a rubber stamp for Milosevic's edicts. After the fall of Milosevic, the prosecutor's office fought for almost two years to persuade Serbia to transmit the minutes to the tribunal. In May 2003 Belgrade eventually allowed a tribunal expert to examine them. The expert reported that the documents provided strong evidence of Belgrade's control over Serbian political and military forces in Croatia and Bosnia, including the heretofore unknown existence of two entities within the joint chiefs of staff in Belgrade in charge of coordinating funding and personnel for the Serbian armies in those two countries. In July 2003 the prosecution asked the ICTY judges to order Belgrade to hand over the full transcripts. The Serbs refused and, in October, were able to persuade the judges to limit the use of the minutes to the Milosevic trial only.

More important, the judges agreed to keep the most incriminating portions from the public and from other judicial institutions—and then rejected repeated attempts by the prosecutor's office to reverse the decision. Belgrade had officially invoked the "vital national interest" to justify its demand. Under that guise, Hartmann claims, the Serbs told the judges that they wanted to avoid paying significant damages if a complaint filed by Bosnia in 1993 to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), a UN court in charge of adjudicating disputes between countries, accusing Serbia of aggression and genocide was successful. If Serbia was found guilty, it would have to pay compensation to Bosnia estimated at upwards of $20 billion; the Serbs argued successfully to the judges that this would impose a major burden on their fragile economy. (Muhamed Sacirbey, the former Bosnian foreign minister, who was the chief proponent of the ICJ case, told me Western powers had been pressuring Bosnia to drop the case for years.) As a result, the full set of documents was never transmitted to the ICJ judges, who in turn did not ask Belgrade to obtain them. This past February, the ICJ ruled that Srebrenica was a genocide but that Serbia was not directly responsible for it and did not have to pay damages to Bosnia.

Nice blames Del Ponte and her decision in May 2003 to write a letter to the Serbian foreign minister offering to keep portions of the documents from the public; he favored obtaining a court order demanding their full original content. "This is a prime example of Del Ponte's corrupting influence on the process," he told me, surmising that she had obtained, in exchange, a promise of further cooperation. Del Ponte's of-

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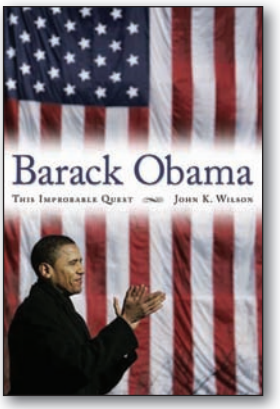

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fice forcefully denied the allegations, and Hartmann stresses that the letter to the Serbs offered nondisclosure only if the demands were reasonable and within the rules of the tribunal. When they proved not to be, the prosecutor's office fought to disclose the full records. In any case, contrary to Nice's claims, the decision to offer confidentiality can be made only by the judges. "As a result, people blame Del Ponte instead of the judges," Hartmann told me. "I'm not saying the judges were taking orders from their governments, but it begs asking why magistrates acted in a way that is clearly against the law and amounted to withholding documents from another jurisdiction in order to prevent a country from paying damages," she said. "The judges' attitude is a real scandal no one is willing to denounce."

No one, it seems, except Hartmann. A month after the publication of *Paix et châtiment*, she received a letter from the tribunal reminding her of her administrative and legal obligations to respect its confidentiality rules. But she is undaunted. Not so much because she remains at heart a reporter eager to tell a juicy story but because she wants to send a warning that behind the shiny words "international justice" lies a more somber reality no one should ignore. ■

COURTESY ARCHIPELAGO

Julio Cortázar and Fafner, 1982

Car Talk

By COLIN FLEMING

Compotes, madeleines, almond cakes. Mashed potatoes for her, *steak frites* for him: such is the haute cuisine of the 500 miles of the autoroute, from the southern edge of Paris to the coastal Mediterranean town of Marseilles, via sixty-five or so rest stops, where our intrepid guides dock their "dragon," a red Volkswagen camper van christened Fafner. It proves an apt companion and vessel for Julio Cortázar and his third wife, the writer and photographer Carol Dunlop, on the five-week trek the two undertook in the spring of 1982 to ponder the depths of their four-year relationship. An illness would claim Dunlop's life before the mock-heroic account of her and Cortázar's journey, *Autonauts of the Cosmoroute*, appeared in 1983.

Autonauts of the Cosmoroute
By Julio Cortázar and Carol Dunlop.
Translated by Anne McLean.
Archipelago. 354 pp. $20.

The means: abandon themselves to the autoroute, pledging never to leave its confines, stopping at a clip of two rest stops a day, spending the night in the second and blissfully dozing in Fafner. Record observations on the local flora and fauna; chronicle the condition of water closets, as regards to their cleanliness and accessibility; ponder one's sleeping lover; chat up suspicious work crews; stare down death; laugh and live; and produce an account of the journey packed with prose, poetry, line drawings, photographs and photocopies.

"I'll never know how I brought three cassettes of Fats Waller and only one of Ellington and one of Armstrong," wonders Cortázar toward the end of the trip. This is the contemplative life as road movie, where details one might consider trivial—like forgetting the Lester Young but loading up on the Mingus—convey how its narrators function at their core, what it is, specifically, that makes them *them*: the unabashed affection for the romantic piano lick, the fondness for some other artist's zealous bluster. But as you learn—about four pages in, when the first full-body laugh hits you—one mustn't forget the piss and vinegar when taking to the road. Ne'er-do-welling is a right blast when you're impersonating classic heroic archetypes, like you're Zorro and Buster Keaton and Lancelot and, why not, Hector, and Hoss from *Bonanza* all at once. Some lines borrowed from Jean Charcot, polar explorer extraordinaire, introduce the tone that our boon caravaners will carry through the first two-thirds of their book:

> Pierre, our alpine guide,
> who has recovered from his terrible
> nausea
> and has gone back to writing
> his memoirs, comes to ask me
> to lend him "that which pushes the
> words
> away." It takes me a while to
> realize that he's talking about
> an eraser.

That which pushes the words away: words as physical things, which encroach upon moods, shaping and deflecting them by dint of their presence. As a sickly child in Argentina, Cortázar felt their bulk while convalescing in bed and reading books selected by his mother; traversing a wide range of subjects, he realized that narrative—and its possibilities—could be blissfully open-ended, unabashedly defiant of the standard fictional end lines of denouement and conclusion.

The traditions of Spanish magic realism could hardly hold Cortázar's interest during the '60s, when he wrote *Hopscotch*—the novel as choose-your-own-adventure book—and *62: A Model Kit*, a prefab fictional creation for the reader to assemble as he saw fit. In each book you can jump from one chapter to another six chapters off, take this path instead of that one, and in *62* break bread with two prankster roués—Calac and Polanco—who also dart in and out of *Autonauts*, where they claim to be kind protectors of our not-so-streetwise travelers while

Colin Fleming, who writes for The American Scholar, *the* Village Voice *and* The New York Times Magazine, *is completing a novel.*

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forever cadging drinks and wolfing down provisions.

Cortázar's creation in *Hopscotch* of a fiction that encourages readers to leap and roll back and forth from one point in a story to another has prompted some critics to classify the novel as a hypertext *avant la lettre*. Perhaps. There's also a more pedestrian explanation for Cortázar's method: his peripatetic life. Born in Belgium, he grew up in Argentina and ultimately settled in France. The notion of "home" in his fictions is one of movement: what the head holds the head travels with, and it is in that region, of cognition, that the individual finds his terra firma. Or you can listen to the characters of Calac and Polanco, having come upon Fafner, making their way out of a past book and into the one at hand:

> Since it's been days since their last appearance I feel obliged to ask them where they've left their car.
>
> "Car," says Calac, looking at Polanco as if he needed to visually lean on him so as not to tumble to the ground. "Hear what he asks me?"
>
> "The freeway is generally reserved for cars," I point out in justification.
>
> "For the cars of the rich," says Polanco with the voice I imagine Karl Marx would use to say the same thing. "We poets live on moon beams and water, which is free in these places fortunately."
>
> "Salami is fuel as well," says Carol who has far less patience with them than I do, which I understand perfectly and which they return with silent hostile glances.

A cloud of dust, and the interlopers blur into the backdrop of the rest stop left behind.

"Fooooking croissant," screams Jamie T., English soulster/faux hip-hopster on "Brand New Bass Guitar" on his recent debut *Panic Prevention*, something that reminds me that a spirit—a joy, a rascally inclination, a playful soul—can inhabit virtually limitless forms. You can find the same energy in *Don Quixote*, in a midshipman's tales of life in Nelson's navy, in a punk rock chorus, in Cortázar's 1960s novels, in a Jamie T. song that plays out over the credits of *Entourage*, in a look you imagine a bird or a squirrel is giving you at a rest stop outside Avignon.

It's a sustaining energy, really, and it's rather the point of *Autonauts of the Cosmoroute*. Some will view the book as Cortázar-lite, the mailed-in travelogue that is far less bold with form than the efforts on which his reputation rests. But this is a work of that tearaway spirit nonetheless. Cortázar and Dunlop would've laughed their asses off over a man shouting oaths at pastries, just as surely as they must have when they wrote this:

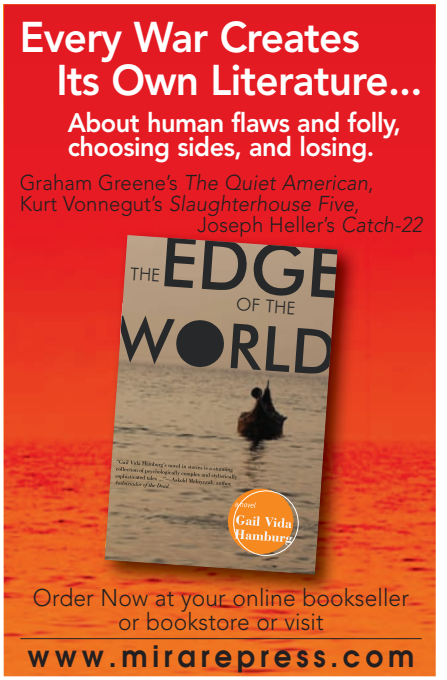
> Reading these pages,
> has it not occurred to you,
> at least once, oh complicit
> and patient reader, to wonder
> whether
> we haven't been hidden in some
> hotel room in la Villette since
> the 23rd of May?

Actually, it had. Then one blinks the thought away. And returns to some glade—these rest stops prove remarkably pastoral—with the sense that no one has invented anything here, save various relief maps of the mind the reader may use to navigate his way beyond all doubts that a child's innocence can be found anywhere in the adult world.

Both Cortázar—who is responsible for the bulk of the text—and Dunlop were noted cinephiles, fans of a medium that, more than most, gives itself over to the shadow play of illusion and reality. Human forms, generated by spectral beams. And human desires, evinced in dark rooms, where corporeal humans do not speak to each other. The challenge then becomes to bridge the distance between the human representatives on the screen and their counterparts in the seats. The authors of *Autonauts* have a similar burden in having created a work that is spectral in its shape-shifting: you could view it as a travelogue with special interest for the gourmand, in the tradition of Bernard Clayton's *The Breads of France*, part recipe book, part scenic narrative; a screenplay for a long-lost Jean Vigo project Godard had been hot to try his hand at; a filmic symposium on love, like *Two for the Road*, the classic lover's getaway film; or a novelist's journal, with another writer's philosophical musings jammed inside.

There is lots of sex, though seekers of nuts-and-bolts accounts of members and orifices are bound to be disappointed, for this is sex as a larger concept: as one human consuming and being consumed by another. A time-honored method of gap-bridging, with a cinematic dichotomy: tangible flesh and the mind's desires, now come together in the dark room of a VW camper van outfitted with window shades.

"We embrace forever until we can't breathe," Dunlop writes, "looking for a breath, you plunging without disappearing



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from where you are, your eyes on me and in front of where the gaze has turned into a reflection of two, a thousand gazes, and you breathe me." Dunlop has it pretty well nailed there: sex as life, mirroring death in its contortions and spastics, without ever dissolving into blackness. (Would that Dunlop's writing was always this incisive.) Cortázar picks up on the theme; the contractions of orgasm are compared with the body's final, earthly spasms—the death lurch that we associate with stagy melodramas when the villain is pierced through the heart. Life is a passage, death is a passage, and in the most intense situations they share the same mannerisms; for Cortázar and Dunlop, understanding what animates the one is the only hope for beginning to understand the other. In such avowals, humor, mostly a constant of *Autonauts*, has a way of departing its pages like a Dionysus who would rather be anywhere else, perhaps in the company of Calac and Polanco, who, just like that, tend to come shambling up once more, castoffs from a Spanish *Withnail and I*, demanding their booze.

When death's shadow begins to hover over *Autonauts of the Cosmoroute* in its final third, human vanity (for there is always something vain about comedy; it's not as though making another person laugh is a selfless gesture) gives way to absolute nakedness, the soul revealed without protective covering. Cortázar and Dunlop had been sick, and he would die fifteen months after her. And we—gentle readers—become the spectators watching everything play out on the big screen of the page. And inside the abyss as well, positioned upon the little path that leads, briefly, out of it, before re-commencing with the descent:

> The world, after all, is full of rest areas where perhaps await dreams of such richness that they'll be worth all the outbound journeys and, one of these days, even a journey of no return.

Words prompted, perhaps, by a shared look about a rank water closet a few miles back, the traveler's knack for observation giving way to a haunting symbolism.

But parks and rest stops offer their accouterments nonetheless, as do the scenes that sometimes play out behind even the most vile of water closets. In those moments, the piquant and the ever so exquisitely painful come together as one, as when death tries to wrest from life what literature will always hold. Gratification, with a slight misalignment, that ambles forth regardless. ■

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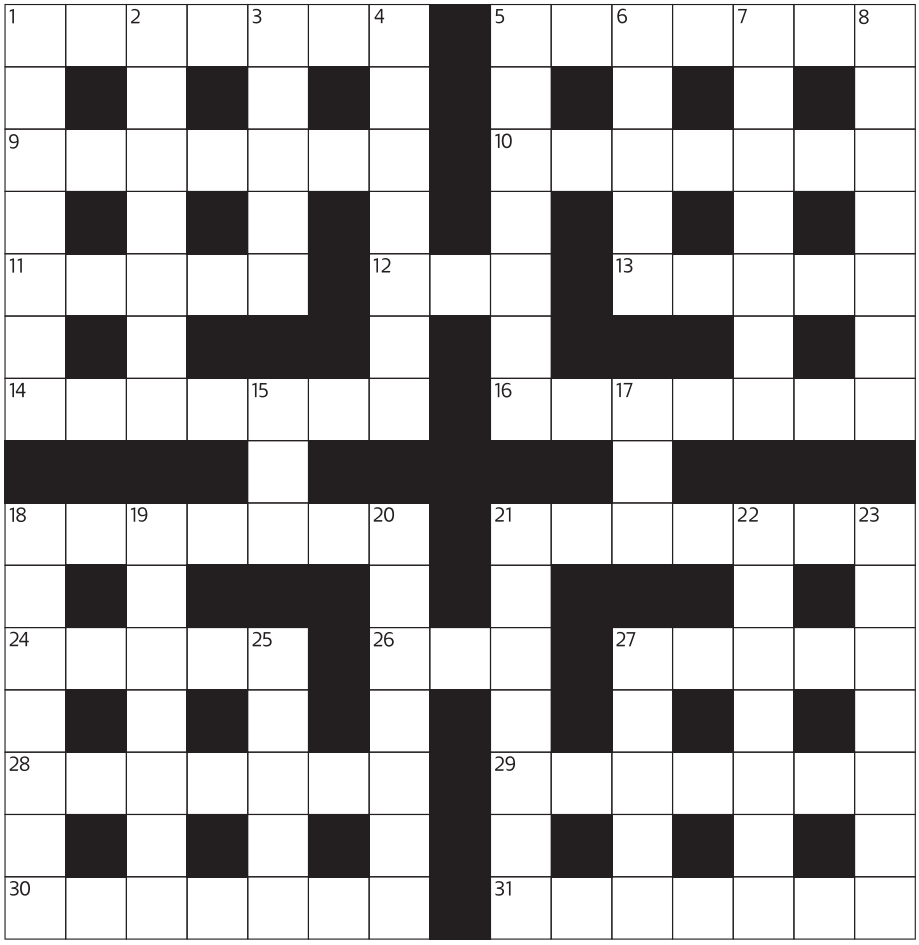
Puzzle No. 3110

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The result of putting two and two together with the little lamb-lover could just about wrap things up. (7)

5 and 19 down Headline telling you what happened when the little pest bit one? You'll get very amused with it! (7,2,5)

9 Existing with a true sort—but not ready for prime time, as they say. (7)

10 Old Latin type given a modern enlistment tag in a foreign country. (7)

11 and **27** down What a lunatic is said to be? (Thinks lovingly when getting a goods-wagon here.) (10)

12 and **13** Descriptions of some music, as well as what one does when adding to the pot. (8)

14 It might be a cure for what happens when all the guitar strings are broken. (7)

16 What a lawyer in England is supposed to do to get business? It's entirely legal! (7)

18 More frequently waters in front of it would be handy for the cleaning lady. (7)

21 A type of bomber—the last sort to make it. (7)

24 The latest craze has a couple of points, but gradually disappears. (5)

26 To slide down the hill might be tasking, partly. (3)

27 Sent something back? Just watch! (5)

28 Take a gamble with a learner in church, partly. (7)

29 A future prune takes time to get something feathery to show off. (7)

30 Break-ups in a fancy way. (7)

31 A satirical imitation of what the pilot might do. (4-3)

DOWN

1 The odd swan game loses a point for the jolly fellow in Australia, camped out under a tree. (7)

2 English stables have trouble in them, but these are nice places for the herd. (7)

3 The wrong names for last words? (5)

4 36-inch rifle, part of a square sheet. (7)

5 One in things like shoemaking, peddling, baking, etc, but makes lots of nasty remarks. (7)

6 It might be a butterfly that is inverted, in quotes. (5)

7 A moonstruck one, logically. (7)

8 Not a live group of people, which shows a way to be against things. (4,3)

15 and **25** Cleans out the joint, having made tracks with what the boy at the grocery counter does, perhaps. (8)

17 One does stand to do it with untruth. (3)

18 Places where some go nine to five, not being on slippery surfaces. (7)

19 See 5 across

20 Takes the beef, which is a sign of disuse to the French. (7)

21 A very little bit when the pointed things come up with a favorite designation. (7)

22 One who used to be with Abner carries a sack with nothing to show for it, getting back trouble. (7)

23 What belongs to the lady has little spirit—just the lady! (7)

25 See 15

27 See 11 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3109

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